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THE  
WAR OF INDEPENDENCE  
IN  
GREECE.

EDINBURGH :  
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**HISTORY OF THE WAR IN GREECE VOL. I.**



W. Archibald Sculp.

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1830.



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# HISTORY

OF THE

## WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

### IN GREECE.

By THOMAS KEIGHTLEY, Esq.

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AUTHOR OF "FAIRY MYTHOLOGY," "OUTLINES OF HISTORY," &c.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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## PREFACE.

THE events which have, of late years, taken place in Greece, are so interesting in themselves, and so likely to be of considerable influence on the future history of the world, that the proprietors of CONSTABLE'S MISCELLANY have deemed that they could not select a subject more likely to prove acceptable to the public, than the narrative of the War of Independence in Greece. They proposed the task of writing it to me; and after some hesitation, I agreed to undertake it.

I saw plainly the absurdity of attempting

to write the critical history of the Greek War, before a sufficient number of *Memoires pour servir* had appeared. At present, we have little more before us on the subject, than the journals and narratives of foreigners, who, either as travellers, or in the service of the Greek government, have passed some time in Greece—many of whom were full of prejudices, little versed in human nature, and ignorant of the language of the country. These materials certainly did not present a very promising appearance. Still, I thought, that without injury to any little reputation which my other writings might have acquired for me,\* I might venture to give a popular synopsis of the mass of information on this subject which is actually in print, and before the eyes of the public. I laid it down as a rule,

\* Though my "Outlines of History" did not appear till last August, it was written in 1828, and printed in 1829.



strictly to confine myself to such,—to act the part of a mere narrator ; and by constant reference to my authorities, free myself from responsibility for the accuracy of the details. It was, however, impossible for me to write, without occasionally pronouncing opinions ; and for such, as well as the exercise of judgment in the selection of my materials, I am justly to be held accountable.

As a popular history demands details in order to be interesting, I could not follow the safe and judicious plan of Col. Leake, in his excellent Sketch of the Greek Revolution. It had also appeared to me that a chief cause of the work of Capt. Blaquiere not having been so popular as might have been expected, lay in its comparative paucity of minute circumstances. I, therefore, have not hesitated to have frequent recourse to the pages of MM. de Pouqueville and Soutzo, though they are writers, of whose general accuracy my opinion is by no means

high. Though the former, however, may embellish, I do not believe that he often invents facts ; I have, therefore, thought I might follow him with safety in the history of Ali Pasha, with which he had such superior means of being acquainted ; and as to the early events of the Revolution, I had the choice of following him, or of giving hardly any details. As to M. Soutzo, he is one of the Fanariot Greeks, and pretends to superior sources of information : I have accordingly thought it right to take him as my guide in the account of the Hetairia, and of the affairs of the provinces beyond the Danube. The writer whom I regard as most trustworthy, and who has furnished some of the most interesting details in the present volumes, is Col. Maxime Raybaud, whose *Memoirs*, unfortunately, do not go beyond the second year of the war.

As the proper pronounciation of names is a matter of some consequence, and as

the Greek system of accentuation is almost as capricious as our own, I have taken care, in general, to mark the accent wherever I could ascertain it. I have also spelt the proper names according to English, and not, as is usually the case, French orthography, as being likely to be of more use to the mere English reader, who will probably find no difficulty in *Jower* and *Miowlis*, though he might be perplexed with *Giaour* and *Miaoulis*. The final *s* not being sounded in Greek names, I have sometimes written, sometimes omitted it. *Botzaris* is pronounced *Botzari*; the same is the case with all the other names which will occur.

I doubt not, but those persons who have been in Greece will accuse me of having fallen into error on various occasions, and perhaps magnify trifles into affairs of great importance. I have, however, faithfully followed my authorities; and I feel confi-

dent that I have given, on the whole, a more complete and correct account of the war than is, to my knowledge, elsewhere to be found.

T. K.

LONDON, *October 1.*

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# HISTORY

OF

## THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

### IN GREECE.

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#### CHAPTER I.

*Sketch of the History of Greece—Mode of Government of it by the Turks—Inhabitants—Albanians—the Armatoles—the Klephts—their Manners and Mode of Life—Popular Poetry.*

DURING the three centuries which succeeded the time when her history emerges from the mists of the mythic ages, Greece exhibited one of the most active and busy scenes of social and political existence which the world has ever witnessed. The faculties of men were kept in a continued state of activity by the incessant demands made on them in consequence of the political relations of the various independent states into which the country was divided; and legislation, military science, and diplomacy, may be said to be, in a great measure, indebted for their origin to this golden age of Hellas. At the same period, all the arts which adorn and em-

bellish life attained a degree of perfection which has never been surpassed.

A period of two centuries succeeded, in which the superiority of the Macedonian and other monarchs, the successors of Alexander the Great, controlled the independence of Greece. The energy which had animated her rival states was fled, and during this period she makes no figure in the history of the world. The year 147 B.C. witnessed the last faint struggle of Grecian independence against the world-absorbing ambition of Rome, and the flames of Corinth lighted the funeral pile on which its remains were consumed.

Reduced to the condition of a province, Greece partook of the fortunes of the republic. It was the scene of war between Rome and Mithridates; it shared in the evils of the civil wars; it became a portion of the empire of the Cæsars. The tranquillity of the first two centuries of the empire was enjoyed by Greece in common with the rest of the Roman world; the invasions of the barbarians wasted it in the succeeding centuries: its devastators were the tribes of the remote peninsula of Scandinavia, who entered it on the north, or, embarking on the Euxine, landed their hardy youth on the coast of Attica.

In the division of the Roman world, Greece went to form a part of the eastern empire; and it remained in peaceful subjection to the despotism of Byzantium till the year 1204, when the decrepitude of the empire fell prostrate before a Venetian fleet and a small army of crusaders. A large portion of the sea-coasts, and nearly all the islands, fell to Venice, who now proudly

styled herself mistress of a *quarter and a half* (or three-eighths) of the Roman empire ; continental Greece and the Peloponnesus were partitioned out among the knights and nobles of France and Flanders ; and Hellas now beheld dukes of Athens, princes of Achæa, great *Sires* of Thebes, and lords of Argos and Corinth. Castles, churches, and other edifices, raised by these nobles of the west, still remain to attest their abode in Greece.

Though the Latin empire in Constantinople lasted but fifty-seven years, the Latin princes of Greece still retained their principalities, as subjects of the Byzantine emperors ; and the first invasion of Greece by the Ottoman Turks, who in the fourteenth century conquered the northern and western European dominions of the Eastern emperors, was in consequence of an invitation from a bishop of Phocis to sultan Bajazet I. to obtain vengeance on Trudelinda, the widow of the duke of Delphi. The ambitious Bajazet cheerfully complied with the call. All continental Greece submitted at his approach ; his generals Yacoob and Evrenos were sent to subdue the Morea ; 30,000 of the inhabitants of Argos were removed to Asia, and Turkman hordes transplanted to the Peloponnesus. The state of confusion into which the Turkish affairs fell after the defeat and captivity of Bajazet by Timoor, prevented the conquest of Greece being completed ; but after the capture of Constantinople by Mohammed II. in 1453, the whole was reduced under subjection to the Ottoman monarchs. Venice still retained possession of Candia, and some other of the islands, and of a part

of the continent. Towards the end of the seventeenth century, she gained the Morea and lost Candia; but in the beginning of the eighteenth century, the entire of Greece was under the dominion of the sultan.

Using the rights of conquest, the Turks had everywhere, except in the Cyclades, in which they did not settle, seized on the greater part of the most fertile lands. Under the title of Agás, a word corresponding to our *country gentlemen*, they formed the landlord and proprietor class of Greece;\* the Rayas, as the Turks style their Christian subjects, usually farmed the lands of the proud and indolent Moslems, on what is called the metayer system; a tax called *kharatch* was paid annually by each Christian for permission to live and enjoy his religion; oppressive *corvées*, and the rapacity of the Turkish governors, kept them in a continual state of misery; the justice administered to them by the Musulman cadis, was venal and partial; abuse and insult were their daily treatment from the ignorant and fanatical Turks.

The country was divided, like the rest of the empire, into pashaliks; the subdivisions of these were governed by voivodes; a cadi was stationed in each town to administer justice. The entire of the Morea formed but one government; the person holding this government was always a vizir, that is, a pasha of three tails.† His

\* Some of these men had estates in the Morea of L.30,000 a-year.—*Leake's Travels in the Morea*.

† The number of horse tails borne on poles before a Turkish officer denotes his rank. The greatest number is three.

title was Moreh-Valesi, (*Lieutenant of the Morea*); his residence was usually at Napoli di Romania, on the gulf of Argos, but latterly at the town of Tripolitzá, in Arcadia. The islands, in general, were left to their own local administrations; the capitan-pasha, or admiral, was their governor-general, and every year he sailed round them, to collect the kharatch, and other taxes. The Isle of Candia, in which the Moslems formed nearly one-half of the population, was divided into three pashaliks.

The Greeks, however, were not totally devoid of landed property; the church, whose hierarchy had not been interfered with by the conquerors, retained some lands, as also did the descendants of some of the ancient families. Some of these had more, some less, of this species of property; others gained wealth by trade and commerce, and these formed the Greek gentry of the continent and the Morea. Under the Turks, all influence was in the hands of them, and of the higher clergy; they, like the head men of villages in the East, regulated the affairs of the districts in which they resided, collected the taxes, and made all the local arrangements which were requisite. The name given to them by the Turks was Khoja-bashis (*old-heads*), by the Greeks they were styled Gérontes (*elders*), Archontes (*archons*), Proëstí (*primates*), &c. Being under the necessity of using a considerable degree of subserviency towards their Turkish masters, the character of these men was not in general of an elevated cast; they had adopted many Turkish customs, and their tyranny over their inferiors was little less than that of the

Turks themselves. The islanders of all classes, being less exposed to the baleful influence of oppression and insult, were, in general, of a superior character to their brethren of the continent.

The present inhabitants of Greece are doubtless, for the greater part, the descendants of the ancient Hellenes; but, like many other countries, Greece has received some foreign accessions to its population. The Valachian shepherds have, for many centuries, pastured their flocks on the mountains around Thessaly, and many of the descendants of the Latins are, of course, still remaining in the villages and towns. But Albania is the region which has sent most colonists into Greece. The people of this country, the successors, and probably the descendants, of the ancient Illyrians, are also named Sheeptars; they are divided into various tribes, distinguished by dialects of their language, and named Guegues, Tokshis, Mirdites, &c. &c. They were all of the Christian faith, and long, particularly under their valiant chief, Scanderbeg, offered an obstinate resistance to the Turks. They finally submitted to their rule, and, like their neighbours the Bosniacs, the greater number of their tribes embraced the Mohammedan faith. They are of a highly martial character, and are to be found acting as the guards of most of the Turkish pashas and great vassals.

The Albanians gradually encroached upon Epirus and Acarnania; and, in the fourteenth century, they were invited into the Morea by the Greek princes who ruled it, to assist them against the Turks. The tribe of Bardoonia in Laconia, and that of Lalla in Elis, derive their



origin from these Albanian auxiliaries.\* These two tribes had also embraced the Mohammedan faith, and they were the most valiant portion of the Moslem population of the peninsula. Other portions of the Albanians spread over the territory of the ancient Sicyon and Argos; they form the population of the isles of Salamis, Hydra, Spetzia, and Poros, and they are also numerous in Attica and Bœotia. These Albanians are all of the Christian faith; they retain, in a great measure, their ancient language, manners, and dress.

From a very early period of the Turkish dominion over Greece, a system was adopted of having a local police,† composed of native Greeks, for the preservation of the peace of each district, and for repressing the incursions of the independent tribes of the mountains. The appellation of this police was *Armatoles* (Ἀρματοῦλοι); they were commanded by a captain (καπιτάνος), who had under him a lieutenant, called *Proto-palicare*, (*palicares*—παλληκάρια—being the designation of the common men,) who usually acted as his secretary. The office of captain was hereditary in a family. The *armatoles* were bound to obey the directions of the pasha or his depnty, and the Greek primates. The arms of the *armatoles* were the same as those of the Albanians, namely, a long gun, a sword, and a dagger. The *armatoliks*,

\* Pouqueville. Mr Leake is positive that these tribes did not enter the Morea till the last century.

† This institution is by some ascribed to Soliman the Great. Colonel Leake derives it from the time of the Byzantine emperors.

or armatole-districts into which Greece was divided, were seventeen in number, ten of which were in Thessaly and Livadia, four in Ætolia, Acarnania, and Epirus, three in Cis-Axian Macedonia. This species of force was unknown in the Morea. Each captain resided with a part of his men in the chief place of his district, the remainder were scattered in detachments over it. The armatoles, it must be again observed, were a purely Greek force, no Turks or Albanians being admitted into their body.\*

The institution of the armatoles having left a good deal of power in the hands of the Greeks, the divan, at a subsequent period, sought to weaken it by establishing a countervailing Turkish force. The office of *dervenjee-bashee* (*inspector of the passes*)† was instituted, and was usually conferred on one of the pashas of Greece, who was thereby empowered to keep on foot a force adequate to the preservation of the security of the highways, particularly the defiles of the mountains, throughout the country. As this was an encroachment on the rights of the armatoles, a considerable degree of ill feeling, which occasionally broke out into acts of violence, prevailed between them and the new police. Nothing, however, of importance occurred so long as the Porte adhered to the wise policy of not conferring the pashaliks of Greece on Albanians; but, during the last century, this policy was de-

\* For our account of the armatoles and klephts, we are indebted to M. Fauriel's introduction to his "*Chants Populaires de la Grèce Moderne*."

† Also, according to Leake, an office in the time of the Byzantine emperors.

parted from, and four Albanian chiefs were made successively pashas of Epirus, and dervenje-bashees. These turned all their efforts towards the breaking up of the corps of the armatoles, and numerous conflicts ensued between them and the Albanian soldiers of the pashas.

The numerous mountain-ridges which occupy so large a portion of the surface of Hellas, have been at all times the seat of a wild and lawless independence. The tribes of Mani in the Morea, and of Sphakia in Crete, have never been completely brought under the Turkish power; the same was the case with those who dwelt in the precipitous heights of Olympus, Ossa, Pindus, and the other ranges of continental Greece, and they infested the inhabitants of the plain by their constant depredations. The appropriate appellation given to them was that of Klephts (Κλέφται), or *robbers*. Unable to subdue them, the Turks treated with them on very favourable terms. They acknowledged their right to independence, and to govern themselves by their own laws, as also to bear arms; and they only required a moderate tribute, by way of acknowledgment of the sultan's supremacy. The tribes nearest the plain accepted these terms; those who dwelt in the more inaccessible parts of the mountains disdained acknowledging a supremacy which could not be enforced, and they retained their former rude independence. It is thought, that as it was in Thessaly that the armatole system was first adopted, that it was employed against these last, and that the first armatoles were those klephts who had accepted the terms just mentioned, who now turned their arms against

their former associates, in defence of their own property and that of the peaceful inhabitants of the plain.

When the destruction of the *armatole* corps was attempted by the Turkish pashas, many of the captains and their bands, driven from their *armatoliks*, retired to the mountains, and adopted the *klephtic* life, while others maintained themselves in their districts by main force. The titles *klepht* and *armatole*, both implying enmity to the Turks, were now confounded; in some parts, as in *Ætolia*, the word *armatole* signified both states of life; in *Thessaly*, where perhaps the term *klepht* was more familiar, it was used by way of preference. A distinction, however, was made; the *armatole* who acted to preserve the peace of his district was called a *tame klepht* (κλέφτης ἡμέρος); the independent robber, the genuine *klepht* or *armatole* in revolt, a *wild klepht* (κλέφτης ἄγριος).

The mode of transition from the *armatolic* to the *klephtic* state was this. When a captain became aware of a plot hatched against him by a pasha or the *dervenjee-bashee*, which he did not think himself able to resist, he instantly retired to the neighbouring mountains, whither his corps of *armatoles* lost no time in following him. He immediately directed his thoughts towards the augmentation of his band, and if his character stood high for courage and conduct, numbers of the victims of oppression repaired to him, in hopes of taking vengeance on their tyrants under his guidance. In this manner a *klephtic* chief sometimes found himself at the head of two or three hundred, or even a

greater number, of palicares ; but in general these bands, as it was not easy to keep a large number together, rarely exceeded one hundred, frequently did not go beyond fifty men. They wandered freely over the mountains, but they usually had a kind of permanent station called a *liméri*, in the neighbourhood of the district from which they had been expelled.

The only means of living which the armatoles, when turned klephts, had, was by pillage. They, however, were not indiscriminate plunderers ; the flocks of the pashas and of the Turkish beys and agas, which fed on the mountains, were frequently seized by them ; they descended and plundered the villages and lands of the agas and beys, carrying off whatever might be of use to them, and burning what remained ; the beys and agas themselves were not unfrequently seized and conveyed to the mountains, where they were detained till the ransom at which they were set was paid. But the only Greeks whom they pillaged, without absolute necessity, were the caloyers or monks, against whom they had a particular animosity, and who, in return, never failed to give any information which might enable the Turks to surprise them. When they plundered the other Greeks, they justified themselves by asserting that they deserved it, as they were the farmers and servants of the Turks.

They sometimes, when they found themselves sufficiently strong, attacked the villages, and even the towns. Their mode of proceeding on these occasions was as follows. They first sent to the place against which they had planned the attack, directing a certain sum of money, or of

goods, provisions, &c. to be furnished at a certain time and place, or else it would be burnt. As the Turks punished compliance with these klephtic requisitions, those to whom they were directed rarely yielded obedience to the first one; a second, and a third, would then come, containing menaces more terrible than those of the first. When a summons arrived whose four corners were burnt, delay was no longer safe, and the requisition was at once complied with. Similar summonses were occasionally sent to rich Turkish proprietors, or to the officers of government, and even to the Greek bishops, whom, as being rich and avaricious, the klephts regarded as fair game, though they had not any antipathy to them, as was the case with respect to the monks.

Similar situations will produce similar manners, and many of the traits of the klephtic character will call to our recollection corresponding traits of the Scottish Highlanders at one period, and of various other tribes of mountaineers, whose chief occupation was ravaging the adjacent low countries. The klepht was hardy and active; he lay in the open air, wrapped close in his cloak of goat's hair; he made his expeditions by night, selecting for that purpose the nights which were most dark and stormy.\* The klephts never fought in a body; each man placed himself behind a piece of a wall or rock, a tree or a bush, where with his long gun he took certain aim at his enemy. From constant

\* Εὗτ' ὄρεος κορυφῇσι Νότος κατέχευεν ὁμίχλην,  
Ποιμέσιν οὔτε φίλην, κλέπτη δέ τι νυκτὸς ἀμείνω,

says Homer, (Il. III. 10.) The name and the thing were both familiar to the old bard.

practice in firing at marks, during their leisure hours, these men had arrived at such a degree of exactness in taking aim, that it was a common exploit with them to hit at a distance of 200 paces an egg suspended from the branch of a tree, and some of them would even send a ball at the same distance through a ring, whose diameter hardly exceeded that of the ball itself. The flash from the gun of an enemy in the dark was sufficient to enable them to hit him. If a party of klephts were surrounded, and no other means of escape remained, they drew their swords and cut their way through their enemies. The stratagems which they employed in order to escape were frequently most extraordinary, as the following account of one of them will testify.

The celebrated Captain Katzantónis, and his palicares, were one time occupying the summit of a rugged mountain, which was accessible only by two very narrow defiles, about half a mile distant from each other. They had probably been betrayed, for two strong detachments of Albanians occupied the defiles. The palicares gave themselves over for lost, for the only possibility of escape remaining was by the smooth, slippery, and nearly perpendicular face of a lofty rock, which it was, however, almost certain death to attempt. While they viewed this precipice in dismay, Katzantónis bade them look at him, and follow his example. Going then to a pine-tree, he hewed down with his sword a strong branch; he cleared its lower part, leaving the bushy top on it, then going to the edge of the rock, he got lying on it, and began to descend; the friction of the branches, pressed down by his



weight, diminished the rapidity of his descent, and he reached the bottom in safety. His men followed his example, and the news of their ravages soon told the Albanians that their prey had escaped.

The klephts amused their leisure with all kinds of manly exercises, such as running, leaping, throwing the discus, as in the days of ancient Hellas. The agility attained by some of them is astonishing; the captain, Nico Tsaras, has been known to jump over seven horses ranged abreast; others are said to have cleared three carts laden with briers to the height of seven or eight feet. Many klephts are said to have been able, under the weight of their clothes, accoutrements, and arms, to keep up to a horse at full gallop.

The klephts were inured to support fatigue, want of sleep, hunger, and thirst, to a surprising degree. They have been known to sustain a combat of three days and nights without eating, drinking, or sleeping. Their firmness in enduring pain equalled that of the North American Indians; they have endured the smashing of all the bones of their lower extremities with sledge hammers without letting a groan escape them. Their wish was for a death in the field; *a good ball!* (καλὸν μολύβι) was an ordinary toast at their banquets. Like the ancient Northmen, they contemplated with aversion the idea of a death by disease.

Like the Northmen, also, the klephts were cruel towards their enemies, but kind and affectionate to their families and friends. One of the most noble features in their character was the



respect which they manifested towards the female sex. They often carried off the wives and daughters of wealthy Turks, and sometimes those of the Greek primates, and they kept these women with them in the wild woods and caverns for several days, till the ransom set on them should be paid. It not unfrequently happened that these females belonged to those who had abused the wives and daughters of the klephts, yet still not the slightest attempt was made on their persons. An instance is even given of a captain being slain by his own palicares, for having insulted a Turkish woman who was kept a prisoner till her ransom should arrive. One of the ballads which we shall presently have occasion to mention, describes a captain taking his repast in his *liméri*, with a Greek woman at his side, whom he had carried off. He insolently desires her to fill out drink for him; she undauntedly replies, "I am not thy slave, Dimos, that I should pour out drink for thee. I am the daughter, and the daughter-in-law, of a primate." This she says in the midst of a forest, on a wild mountain, where she was entirely at the mercy of her captors. "It is not among such men," justly observes Mr Fauriel, "that Scipio would have met with admiration for not having insulted his captive." \*

\* There may have been something of superstition in this respect for females. M. Raybaud (I. 288) observes, that the Greeks in general were rarely guilty of violating the chastity of female prisoners. The Maniotes, he says, had an idea that, in that case, *a ball would hit them in the next action they were engaged in*. The islanders did not share this prejudice, and they were consequently much less scrupulous on this head.

The klephts were extremely religious after their own fashion, resembling in this respect the Italian banditti, and all those who deem religion and morality to be two different things. A klepht, be he where he might, would keep as well as he could the festivals of the church; no degree of distress would induce him to take any offering or sacred utensil from a church; and an instance occurred of a chief, who had carried off an *ex voto* from a church of the Virgin, near Vónitza, being delivered up by his own palicares to Ali Pasha, by whose orders he was hanged. The famous Captain Blakhavas set out on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, at the age of seventy-six, attended by his proto-palicare, and died in the Holy Land.

During the summer, when the fields were green and the weather warm, the klephts abode in the mountains. The shepherds, who drove their flocks up from the plains every spring to pasture among the glens and declivities of Pindus and its kindred ranges, were, both from inclination and interest, the friends and associates of the klephts, whom they furnished, at a moderate rate, with the flesh of kids, lambs, sheep, and goats. Wine, purchased in the towns, and concealed in the recesses of the *liméri*, enlivened the klephtic banquets; the pure air of the mountains gave health and inspired cheerfulness; and the klepht was distinguished for the gaiety of his humour and the poignancy of his repartee.

In the winter, when the snow began to cover the mountains, the klepht wrapt his arms and ammunition in strong pitched cloths, and concealed them in a cavern or in the crevice of a rock. He then descended into the plain, to spend

the time, till the return of the spring, with his friends or relatives, or he passed over to the Ionian Islands, where he could be safe beneath the protection of Venice. But, unaffected by social enjoyments, by security, and by the admiration with which his countrymen in general regarded him, the heart of the klepht was still among his mountains, and he looked eagerly for the moment when the verdant hue of the distant hills would tell him that the snow was dissolved, and that he might return to his *liméri*.

With an oppressed people like the Greeks, the men who venture to set at defiance those before whom others tremble, will always be regarded by their suffering countrymen with veneration and affection. The klephtic chiefs, accordingly, were the popular heroes, the Hercules and Theseus, of modern Greece. Their exploits formed the chief subject of the national ballads which were sung throughout the country by the wandering minstrels, the genuine descendants of the singers (*αοιδοί*) and rhapsodists of ancient Hellas; and thus the fame of a Blakhavas, a Katzantónis, a Nico Tsaras, was spread far and wide, and tended to keep up in the minds of the people the hatred of the Turks, and the hope of being, at some period or other, able to cast off their yoke. In effect, it was to the klephts that those who first conceived the idea of insurrection chiefly looked, esteeming their hardy and undaunted bands the nuclei of future armies in the cause of independence.

The ballads which we have just alluded to are seldom of great length, often consisting of only a few lines, in that respect differing widely

from the songs of the days of Homer.\* They are of a very simple structure, unrhymed, regulated by accent, not by quantity, and consisting of lines of fifteen syllables. The following short specimen will serve to give an idea of them :—

What though the passes all are watched and kept by the  
Albanians?

While Sterghios lives, he heed will ne'er of them take,  
or their pashas.

As long as on the hills it snows, we ne'er to Turks will  
yield us.

Come, let us take our stations high, where wolves in ca-  
verns shelter.

Let slaves with Turks dwell in these plains, dwell in  
these towns and cities ;

The towns of the bold palicares are glens and lonely  
mountains.

'Tis better far with beasts to live than with the Turkish  
tyrants.†

\* This only applies to those collected by M. Fauriel ; for, like those of the Highland bards, the effusions of the Hellenic singers are often, as it would appear, of considerable length. “ On the day of his (Hypsilantis') arrival,” says M. Raybaud, (I. 496,) “ he invited to supper a party of the Greek captains, and all the foreign officers. Hardly had each person taken his place, when a *cul-de-jatte* of horrible deformity was brought in, and set down in a corner of the room. We looked, and soon heard issue from the breast of this modern Tyrtæus a full and sonorous voice, which sung the names and the exploits of those who had given lustre to the commencement of the present war. I was sorry that I was not able to judge of the merit of the poetry ; but I can at least bear testimony to its abundance, and to the strength of lungs of this legless bard, for his songs did not terminate till a very late hour.”

† Κ' ἂν τὰ διεβένια τούρκεσαν, τὰ πῆραν Ἀλβανίτες,  
Ὁ Στέργιος εἶναι ζωντανὸς, πασάδες δὲν ψηφάει.

“Ὅσον χιονίζουν τὰ βουνὰ, τούρκευς μὴ προσκυνοῦμεν.

κ. τ. λ.

## CHAPTER II.

*Designs of Russia on Greece—Papas-ogloó proceeds to the Morea—Meets little success in Mani—Benákhi—Arrival of a Russian fleet in the Mediterranean—Russians land in the Morea—Siege of Coron, and Capture of Mistra—Capture of Navarino, and Siege of Modon—Arrival of the Albanians in the Morea—Greeks and Russians defeated at Tripolitzá—Russians driven out of the Morea—Excesses of the Albanians—They are destroyed by Hassan Pasha—Mani reduced—Adventures of Androotzos—Account of Rhigas.*

SUCH as we have described it in the foregoing chapter, was the state of Greece under the Turkish yoke, about the middle of the eighteenth century. Independence had fixed her seat in the various mountain-ranges, the people of the plains were galled by oppression, but advancing in knowledge, the Ottoman empire was becoming every day more feeble, and all men of sagacity were aware that it was verging to its fall.

The most formidable foe of the Ottoman power is, beyond question, Russia, before whose might it must, sooner or later, succumb; and the idea of the Russian cabinet seeking to take advantage of the oppressed condition of the Greeks, and their community of religious faith, is so obvious a one, that the conception of it is very generally, though without perhaps much reason, ascribed to Peter the Great. This monarch, however, took no steps to excite disaffection among the Greek subjects of the Porte; but in the reign of the Empress Elizabeth, a

Russian emissary appeared among the mountains of Taygetum, to ascertain the strength and the sentiments of the Maniotes who inhabit them, and to hold out a prospect of the aid of Russia when a favourable opportunity should present itself.

When Catherine II., great in talent and great in crime, had seated herself on the throne of her murdered husband, a proposal of raising Greece in insurrection was made to her favourite and paramour, Alexis Orlov, by a Thessalian named Papas-ogloó or Papa-dópoolo,\* who was an officer of artillery in the Russian service. The ambitious Orlov eagerly caught at the project, dreaming of glory and fame for himself, and a kingdom in Greece for his royal mistress. Two Russian ships, laden with the produce of the north, were, in 1766, sent round by the ocean to Leghorn, and the money for which their cargo sold was placed at the disposal of Papas-ogloó, who, having established relations with all the Greeks scattered through the towns of the Adriatic, set out for the Morea.

Papas-ogloó directed his steps to the district of Mani, the ancient Taygetum, where, owing to the strength of the country, a race of men, falsely boasting to be the descendants of the ancient Spartans, maintained their independence, and exercised brigandage by sea and by land. Papas-ogloó spoke to these men of the liberation of Greece; but the Maniotes had already all the liberty that they desired, and they were

\* That is, the *priest's son*; the former in Turkish, the latter in Greek. This birth is held in great respect in Greece.

not chivalrous enough to risk their independence in an attempt to communicate the blessing. Two of their chiefs, of the family of Mavromicháli, discussed his project with much good sense and judgment, and warned him against suffering himself to be led astray by the apparent alacrity of the other Greeks, who, he might rely upon it, would fly at the very sight of a turban. All he could obtain was a promise that the Maniotes would join the Russians, if they gave them an accurate idea of their plans, and the forces intended to carry them into execution, and sent deputies properly accredited to them.

These prudent precautions of the Maniote chiefs were not agreeable to the sanguine temper of Papas-ogloó; and quitting Mani, he proceeded to Calamáta, a town of some importance, distant about a mile from the sea, at the head of the gulf of Messenia. Here, in the person of a wealthy Greek named Benákhi, he found a man much more to his purpose than the rude chiefs of Mani. The riches of Benákhi gave him great consideration in the eyes of the Turks, as well as of his own countrymen, and he had enjoyed the favour of each succeeding pasha of the Morea; but it is to be observed, that, probably owing to the vanity and ambition which form so prominent a part of the national character, the possession of wealth and influence made the Greeks in general only the more ardent in their desires after independence. Benákhi, the first of his countrymen in riches and authority in the Morea, was readily led to imagine, that by the aid of the Russian empress, and under her protection, he might become the

prince of the peninsula. Led away by their enthusiasm, he and Papas-ogloó mutually deceived each other ; the one exaggerated the numbers, the power, the means, the patriotism of the Greeks ; the other promised every thing on the part of Russia. Some prelates, primates, and a few Maniote chiefs, relatives of Benákhi, met secretly at Calamáta, and entered into an engagement to raise 100,000 men when the Russians should arrive.

Papas-ogloó hastened to Venice, where Alexis Orlov and his brother Theodore had arrived towards the end of the year 1768. Emissaries were sent in all directions, and Venice became the centre of intrigues against the Ottoman empire. The cautious senate, however, soon gave the two Russians warning to quit that city, and choose some other place of residence. They took up their abode successively in different cities of Italy, still sending emissaries to keep up the hopes of the Maniotes, and Alexis assumed the title of envoy of God and the Tsarina for the deliverance of Greece. He sent medals of that princess, and presents in her name, to the primates, as testimonies of her regard for them and their country.

The Russian ministry was all along adverse to the project of raising the Greeks ; they conceived it to be quite beyond the present resources of Russia to bring it to a happy termination, and its failure would, they judged, only serve to alienate the affections of the Greeks. The influence of the favourite, however, prevailed over their remonstrances, and in the month of September, 1769, a squadron of seven



sail of the line, four frigates, and transports with 1200 men on board, sailed from the ports of the Baltic. As these vessels were old and ill constructed, several of them were lost on their way to England, where the fleet put in to refit. A second squadron, composed of four ships of the line, two frigates, and two sloops of war, under the command of the Scottish admiral, Elphinstone, was at the same time getting ready for sea with all expedition.

It is said that the true reason for hastening the expedition to the Morea, was the condition of the Russian army, which had been driven out of Moldavia into Poland, and was then actually besieged in its camp on the Dniester by sixty thousand Turks. A diversion on the side of Greece might, it was thought, be of great advantage by distracting the attention of the Porte.

In the beginning of the year 1770, the Russian admiral, Spiridov, arrived in the Mediterranean with a part of the first squadron. He was joined by Theodore Orlov, who, leaving Port Mahon in the beginning of February, sailed direct for the Morea, expecting, as he had been led to think, that all Greece would rise at the sight of the Russian flag. Having cast anchor at Porto Vitylo, the ancient Ætylus, on the east coast of the gulf of Coron, he was there joined by the two Mavromichális of Mani, who came to confer with him. They demanded, previous to their making any engagement, some positive stipulations; more especially they required to see some document in the handwriting of the empress. Orlov producing an engagement, by which they had bound themselves to second the

efforts of a Russian force, they declared it to be a forgery of Papas-ogloó. After a good deal of altercation, they agreed to give their aid, knowing that their people would, in all probability, get a good deal of plunder during the contest, and reckoning on the strength of their mountains, to secure them from the vengeance of the Turks.

Disease had made such ravages among the Russians, that on leaving his ships almost without any crews, Orlov was able to land but between five and six hundred men, and with this slender force he barbarously proposed to excite the Greeks of the Peloponnesus to insurrection against their masters ! Upwards of a fortnight was spent in constructing some galliots, which were sent to the Ionian Isles to fetch off all who might be disposed to take a share in the enterprise. The Greeks, seeing the mere handful of men who had arrived, were dejected, and little disposed to join them ; but Orlov, by putting a bold face on the business, and declaring, that what he had brought was only the vanguard of the expedition commanded by his brother, which consisted of sixty vessels, and being seconded by the bishop of Montinero, who went about with the cross in his hand, offering two sequins for the head of every Turk that was slain, and by the influence of Benákhi, he succeeded in drawing together a few hundred men. These were formed into two divisions, to which Orlov gave the pompous titles of the Eastern and Western Legions of Sparta ; the first being destined to advance along the valley of the Eurotas, and, being joined by the Maniotes, penetrate the east

side of the Morea; the other was to direct its course westwards, and augment its force on that side. Having sent them forward, Orlov himself, with about four hundred Russians and some Montenegrins and Slavonians, whom he had collected, joined with a party of the Maniotes, undertook the siege of Coron.

The eastern legion advanced, massacring and burning all that they met, for the terror of the Russian name made the Turks fly before them, till they arrived at Mistrá, which place they took by assault. The Maniotes distinguished themselves by their ferocity, and it was with difficulty that even the Turks, who had sought refuge in the Christian church, could be saved from their rage. The Turks in general fled to Tripolitza, a large town in the valley where formerly stood Tegea and Mantinea; and the pasha of the Morea, who resided at Anápli, or Napoli di Romania, on the gulf of Argos, sent to encourage them to a vigorous resistance, in case of attack, by the assurance, that an Albanian army, and the fleet of the capitan-pasha, would soon arrive for the defence of the Morea.

The Porte had got early information from the French ambassador of the designs of Russia, but, with its characteristic pride and stupidity, it refused to give credit to the intelligence. When the Ottoman ministers were told that the Russian fleet had actually passed the Sound, they asked what the Sound was; and on being informed, they burst out into laughter at the folly and credulity of the Franks. When, however, they heard of the Russians being in the Morea, they marvelled at the French ambassador's skill

in astrology ; and they were at first for proceeding to a general massacre of the Greeks by way of precaution. They were contented, however, with making preparations to resist the invader.

On a false report of the fall of Coron, the people of Mesolonghi, in Ætolia, raised the standard of revolt ; Patrás, in Achæa, did the same. All parts of Greece and the islands were ready to rise on the appearance of the Russians, with arms and ammunition. The inhabitants of the Ionian Islands embarked in crowds, and landed in the Morea, to share in the crusade against the infidels.

Meantime the siege of Coron went on but slowly for want of artillery, and serious differences arose between the Greeks and their allies. On one occasion, when Mavromicháli, the Maniote, had expressed himself with the boldness and energy of a freeman, Orlov affected to treat his conduct as insubordination. Roused to indignation, the mountain chief said to him, " You forget that I am not become the subject of the woman who commands *you*, and that if you had under your orders all the armies of your mistress, you would be still but a slave ; while *I*, the chief of a free people—even if fate had made me the meanest among them, my head would be of more value than yours." Each laid his hand on his pistol—disdain checked the one, fear the other.

The arrival of a sixty-gun ship, a bomb-ketch, and two transports with some troops on board, enabled the Russians to undertake something of more importance. It was resolved to abandon the siege of Coron, and proceed to that of Na-

varino, on the west coast of the Morea. The Greek inhabitants of Coron and its neighbourhood, fearing the vengeance of the Turks, crowded to the shore, with their families and property, seeking with cries and tears an asylum on board the ships; and the Turks, quitting the citadel, hastened to complete the destruction of the town, which had been already in part destroyed.

By the order of Alexis Orlov, Psaros, who had led the eastern legion to Mistra, proceeded against Tripolitza, of which city the archbishop and the primates had early entered into the conspiracy. Alexis himself meanwhile sat down before Modon, the ancient Methone, a town not far from Navarino, while an officer, named Dolgorucki, advanced and took possession of this last place. The siege was pushed on with vigour, and the place was on the eve of surrendering, when the arrival of the Turkish fleet off the coast of the Peloponnesus was announced, and at the same time it was learned that the Albanians were ready to burst into the Peninsula.

The Albanians having descended from their mountains to the number of 15,000, divided their forces; the cavalry and part of the infantry proceeding to the isthmus, the remainder of the infantry entering Ætolia. The inhabitants of Mesolonghi sought refuge in the isle of Anatolico, where they were massacred, notwithstanding a capitulation which had been granted to them. Crossing over to the Morea, the Albanians surprised Patras, on the night of Good Friday, when the greater part of the inhabitants were

in the churches. Numbers of them were slaughtered, others, especially the Ionians who were there, got into boats, to make their escape, but met with other Albanians on the sea, by whose arms they perished. The rest of the inhabitants fled to the mountains, whence it was attempted in vain to draw them by a promise of an amnesty. The Albanian cavalry now poured into the Morea; one thousand of them threw themselves into Tripolitza, in view of the besiegers; and Turks and Albanians, sallying forth, dispersed the Greeks, and cut to pieces the Russians; three thousand Christians who were in the town were massacred, and the archbishop and several priests were hanged. A camp of six thousand Moslems was formed under the walls, ready to proceed to Mistra, Modon, or Navarino, as soon as the fleet should have arrived to co-operate.

When they heard that the Ottoman fleet was off the coast of Mani, the Turks and Albanians marched for Coron by the defile of Nisi, which was defended by four hundred Maniotes, under John Mavromicháli. Though this chief had left the Russians in discontent, he was generous enough to send to assure them, that he would maintain the pass till they should come to his aid, if they were so inclined, or effect their escape, if they despaired of success. He kept his word, and nearly the entire body of the Maniotes fell bravely fighting.

The Turks now spread over Messenia, and the unfortunate inhabitants sought refuge under the walls of Navarino, which was occupied by the Russians. The Turks fell on the Russian camp before Modon, burst their way into

it, slaughtered a part of its defenders, and drove the rest to Navarino. Their cannon became the prize of the victors.

Orlov, who was in the fortress of Navarino, with a dastardly regard for his own safety alone, shut the gates against the crowds of unhappy men, women, and children, whom his wild project had exposed to destruction. In vain they stood, with piteous cries, at the foot of the ramparts, imploring him to give them a refuge from the merciless Moslems. He was deaf to entreaty. The enemy was now in view; the multitude ran down to the beach to get into the boats which were lying there. Some of the boats sunk, overladen with the fugitives, some thousands of whom got to the desert island of Sphacteria, which lies in front of the harbour, where they remained without food, water, or shelter. The Russians meantime got on board of their ships, and fled. Benákhi, deploring his folly, was forced to accompany their flight. The unfortunate Greeks in Sphacteria were massacred by the Turks.

After the expulsion of the Russians, the vizir of the Morea was anxious to get rid of the Albanians also, and suffer the Greek population to resume their former occupations. But the Albanians were not disposed readily to leave a country which held out a prospect of so much plunder. They resolved, too, to have it all to themselves; and they placed a guard at the isthmus to prevent any more of their countrymen coming to share in it. They replied to the orders of the vizir by clamorously demanding the pay which was due to them. As it was



not in his power to satisfy them, they divided themselves into bands, who traversed the country in all directions, massacring and pillaging Greeks and Turks indifferently. Having gotten a large proportion of the money of the Morea into their hands, they fell on an expedient to draw the remainder to themselves, by lending to the wretched Greeks at the rate of two *paras*\* a-month interest for each piastre; and then, adding interest to principal, like the creditors of ancient Rome, they had the debtor completely at their mercy, and were this way making themselves completely masters of the country. As to the vizir, they even had the audacity to keep him almost besieged in Napoli di Romania.

The Albanians had held possession of the Morea for nine years, regardless of the repeated firmans sent to command them to return to their own country, when the Porte, having made peace with Russia, ordered the celebrated Hassan Pasha to clear the Morea of them. Hassan assembled his troops at Argos, and set out on the 10th of June for Tripolitza, before whose walls the Albanians were encamped to the number of 11,000 men. Having marched during the night, he appeared with the dawn in the plain in which that town stands. Without a moment's delay he attacked the rebels; the combat lasted throughout the greater part of the day, and ended in the total rout of the Albanians; and in the evening, Hassan erected before the eastern gate of Tripolitza a pyramid of more than 4000 heads. The fugitives were pursued

\* A piastre contains forty paras.



and slaughtered, and in a woody gorge of the mountains, thence named the Defile of the Massacre, the greater part of them were slain. Of the survivors, some joined their kindred tribes of Lalla and Bardoonia ; others entered the service of the Pasha ; few returned to Albania.

The Maniotes did not escape so easily as they had reckoned on. Before the insurrection, they had been subject to a nominal tribute of fifteen purses, which they never paid ; but now Hassan Pasha sent Hassan-bey with a body of troops into Mani, to reduce it to submission. This active chief took a great many of the Maniote castles, and forced several of their chiefs to surrender themselves. An annual tribute of thirty purses to the Porte, and five to the capitan-pasha, which was in future rigorously exacted, was laid on the district. The Maniotes were forced to submit to be governed by a bey of their own choice, subject to the approval of the Porte. Hassan-bey was made governor of Monemvasía, a strong place on the east coast of Mani, in order to check their piracies.\*

Before we quit the Morea, we shall relate the adventures of Captain Androotzos of Livadia.†

The news of the landing of the Russians having spread rapidly over Greece, and the smallness of their numbers not being known, many of the klephtic chiefs of the north hastened with their palicares towards the scene of action. The most distinguished of these was Androotzos of Livadia, who, at the head of about 300 brave palicares, crossed the isthmus

\* Leake's Travels in the Morea.

† Fauriel.

of Corinth, and directed his course for Messenia. But he soon, to his grief, learned that the cause which he came to support was lost. The Turks and Albanians were spread over the whole country, plundering and massacring the unfortunate peasants ; and he saw that it was doubtful if he should be able to regain Livadia.

Undismayed, Androotzos cheered his men, and desired them to rely on him ; and, proceeding to Tripolitza, presented himself before the pasha, and demanded a safe conduct for himself and his men. This was granted at once ; but measures had been taken to render it of no avail ; and, when he entered the isthmus, he found a large force of horse and foot waiting for him in a strong position. They charged him instantly. Androotzos feigned flight, till he reached an advantageous position ; then turning, charged his pursuers in turn so fiercely, that he forced them to a precipitate flight. Finding the isthmus thus closed against him, he turned to the west, and marched along the gulf of Lepanto with the intention of getting on board any Ionian vessels that he might find in Patras, or any other port. The Turks closely pursued him, and, day or night, the combat was never intermitted. The wearied palicares, after ten days of fatigue and danger, came on the tenth day to the neighbourhood of Vostítza, a seaport, some miles to the east of Patras. Here they were assailed for three successive days and nights by the Turks. On the fourth morning, Androotzos encouraged his desponding men to be the assailants. They fell on the Mussulmans, ere they were aware of them ; the

combat was long and obstinate. At length the enemies fled, leaving a great number slain, and the greater part of their provisions and baggage. Androotzos lost about the fourth of his little army. Of all the spoil, the victors took nothing but the food : they had been three days without eating, and many had fallen with hunger in the battle. They lost no time in proceeding to Vostitzza, where they found vessels of Corfu and Zante, in which they embarked ; and landing at Prevesa, they continued there till an article of amnesty for the Greeks, inserted in the treaty of Karnargie, in 1774, enabled them to return to Livadia.

The base cruelty and selfishness displayed by the Russian cabinet, in thus luring the unfortunate Greeks into rebellion, and then leaving them exposed to the vengeance of the Porte, did not alienate their affection for that power, or diminish the belief, founded on current prophecies, that their deliverance was ultimately to come from the north. They had, however, received a lesson of prudence ; and, eager as they were to cast off the oppressive yoke of the barbarians, they abstained from all insurrectionary movements for a long series of years. Meantime exertions were made to prepare the Grecian mind for appreciating and acquiring independence. Schools were opened, in which the ancient literature of Hellas, and a portion of that of modern Europe, were taught ; translations were made into the Romaic or modern Greek of various works ; and many patriotic Greeks sought by their writings to reanimate the ardour for liberty and independence.

Of these men the most celebrated was Rhigas. He was born in the year 1753, at Velestini, a little town in Thessaly. Having received as good an education as his country could afford, he devoted himself to commerce, and settled at Bukharest, the capital of Valachia. He here found leisure from business sufficient to enable him to pursue his studies, and he became familiar with the languages and the literature of France, Italy, and Germany. His favourite study was the ancient literature of his native country; and as his imagination warmed at the contemplation of free and independent Hellas, he brooded over plans for restoring her to that happy state. It is asserted, that he had the influence and the address to organize a secret society, the pattern and forerunner of the future Hetairia, for the purpose of emancipating Greece; and that its members were the principal prelates, merchants, primates, captains, and others of the Greek nation, together with some eminent foreigners, and even some Turks of note, such as Passvand-ogloo, the refractory pasha of Vidin.

Rhigas afterwards left Bukharest, and took up his residence in Vienna, where he commenced the publication of a Greek journal, translated the travels of Anacharsis, and other works, into Romaic, and wrote some original ones. It was at this period also, that—a modern Tyrtæus—he composed those spirit-stirring hymns, which have since roused the youth of Greece to deeds of heroism.

Rhigas had all the vanity and imprudence of his country; he talked openly of his projects. The Turkish government got information, and

grew alarmed. An application was made to the cabinet of Vienna; Rhigas and four others were seized and delivered up to the Porte, and they were beheaded at Belgrade, in May 1798.\*

## CHAPTER II.

*Birth of Ali Tebelinli—his Early Life—Marries the Daughter of Capelan Pasha—Plots against his Father-in-Law—Murders his Brother-in-Law, and also Selim Pasha—Is made Pasha of Larissa and of Jannina.*

AFTER the unfortunate termination of the insurrection of 1770, the political interest of Greece was for several years attached to the person of a man, for whom his ambition and his crimes have obtained a lasting celebrity; and his history is too closely interwoven with the noble struggle of the Greeks, which we have undertaken to record, to admit of its being passed over in silence.†

Ali Tebelinli (i. e. *native of Tebelin*) was born about the year 1740, at Tebelin, in Epirus. His father, Veli, having been driven from his paternal heritage, in the little town of Tebelin, by his two elder brothers, had been forced to turn robber for his support. Having enriched

\* See Notice sur la Vie et les Ecrits de Rhigas, by Nicolopoolo, at the end of Raybaud's Memoires sur la Grèce.

† M. de Pouqueville is the guide whom we follow throughout in our account of Ali Pasha, as his long residence as French consul at Jannina gave him superior opportunities of becoming acquainted with his history.

himself by this trade, and got a hardy band of followers, he came suddenly to his native town, and attacked and burnt his brothers in the family mansion. Master of the whole fortune of the family, he now became the chief aga of Tebelin. Though he had already a son by a slave, who afterwards bore him another son and a daughter, he was ambitious to ally himself to some family of consequence in the country, and he sought and obtained the hand of Khamco, daughter of a bey of Conitza, related to Khoord, pasha of Berat. By her he had a son, Ali, and a daughter, Khaimitza.

Veli dying in consequence of excess, at the age of 45, his widow Khamco resolved to support the rights of her son: she poisoned, as was asserted, his eldest brother, and collected around her as many of her husband's partisans as she was able. The number of her adherents became so great, and her ulterior projects so bold, that the people of the neighbouring districts of Cornovo and Gardiki, fearing for their independence, resolved to stand betimes on their defence against her; and one of those little wars, so common among the turbulent tribes of Albania, broke out, in which Khamco and her children were taken prisoners, and confined at Gardiki. They were, however, by means of a Greek of Argyrocastro, ransomed for 22,800 piastres, (about L.3000;) and Khamco's circumstances being thus somewhat reduced, she no longer meddled in public affairs, but devoted her time to giving her son such an education as would prepare him for the commission of every crime which leads to greatness in the East.

Ali began to put the lessons of his mother early into practice, and before he was 14 years old he had acquired some fame by carrying off the sheep and goats of his neighbours. By what he made in this way, and the savings of his mother, he collected about him a set of idle, thieving vagabonds; and he soon felt himself strong enough to attempt carrying into effect Khamco's plans of vengeance against the people of Gardiki and Cormovo, who had made her a captive. He failed, however, in his attempt on the latter people, and ran away back to Tebelin as fast as his legs could carry him. His mother received him with sarcasms and contempt. Galled by her reproaches, Ali left Tebelin at the head of thirty palicares, and went and took service with the pasha of Negropont; but soon wearied with the idle sort of life which he led there, he moved into Thessaly, and became a highway robber. Having made some money in this way, he went up into Mount Pindus, where he plundered some villages; and he then returned to Tebelin, where his wealth at once procured him consideration.

Repose not being suited to his temper, Ali soon resumed his former courses, and he carried his depredations to such a length as drew on him the attention of Khoord Pasha, the governor of Middle and Lower Albania. Troops were sent in pursuit of him, and he and his comrades were taken, and cast into prison at Berat, the capital of Middle Albania. The others were forthwith hanged as robbers; the old vizir took compassion on the youth and beauty of Ali, who was, moreover, his relative; he

gave him his life, and kept him for some years with himself, in hopes of weaning him from his evil courses ; and at length, yielding to the repeated solicitations of Khamco, he set him at liberty, assuring both mother and son, that they had no mercy to expect if they persisted in disturbing the public tranquillity. They promised to remain quiet, and as long as Khoord lived, they kept their word.

Epirus, or Lower Albania, was at that time divided into three pashaliks—Delvino, Jannina, and Paramythia ; the districts of Chimæra, Gardiki, Zoolati, Argyrocastro, and Sooli, were free and antonomous, but acknowledging the superiority of the pashas ; the vizir Khoord exercised the supreme authority over the whole. Jealousies and animosities prevailed among the people of the different districts, and petty wars were continually breaking out ; but a kind of balance of power was instinctively maintained, and when any district was menaced by a more powerful neighbour, some of the others hastened to its defence.

Ali now looked for occupation as a partisan in the quarrels of others, and he soon took a distinguished rank among the beys of Epirus. Being at this time about 24 years of age, he was anxious to strengthen himself by some matrimonial alliance ; and he sought and obtained the hand of Eminé, the virtuous and amiable daughter of Capelan, the fierce and turbulent pasha of Delvino, who resided at Argyrocastro. Capelan was one of those pashas who had taken up the chimerical idea of becoming independent, and he reckoned on having an able ally and instrument in his son-in-law.



It was at this time that the adventurer named Stefano Piccolo, (*Little Stephen*,) who gave himself out to be Peter III., the murdered husband of Catherine, had excited the Montenegrins to take arms against the Porte; and agents sent through Epirus, had induced the Sooliotes and the Chimæriotes to join in the same cause. The artful Catherine, who was but too well aware of the falsehood of the pretensions of Stefano, refused to participate in the actions of the Montenegrins, who had been for some years subjects of Russia, and left to the Porte the task of chastising them, as well as its own rebellious subjects. Orders were therefore issued to all the vassals of the sultan to lend their aid to subdue the insurgents.

Capelan, instead of hastening to the standard of the vizir Khoord, hung back by the advice of his son-in-law, and secretly thwarted the plans and measures of the vizir, and the incomplete success which was obtained against the rebels was ascribed to his disloyalty. He was accordingly summoned to appear before the Roomeli-Valesi, (*Governor of Roomelia*,) at Monastir, to give an account of his conduct. Ali did all in his power, and made his wife, Eminé, join her entreaties, to induce Capelan to obey the summons. The pasha went to Monastir, and was forthwith seized and beheaded. This was what Ali had expected, for he had been the secret accuser of his father-in-law, whose place and wealth he hoped to get; but, to his great mortification, the pashalik was given to Ali, bey of Argyrocastro, a man of approved loyalty, who faithfully transmitted the wealth of Capelan to the Porte.

Though disappointed, Ali was not depressed ; the new pasha was unmarried, his sister, Khainitza, was just now marriageable ; a match between them was proposed ; the pasha readily hearkened to the proposal, and espoused the sister of Ali, who was speedily engaged plotting against his brother as before against his father-in-law. His ambition, it is said, had at this time dared to aspire to the only daughter of the vizir Khoord, when that aged prince died, after having given his daughter in marriage to Ibrahim, bey of Avlona, who was appointed his successor in the viziriate of Middle Albania.

“ I now at length” (these are Ali’s own words\*) “ became aware of the necessity of establishing myself solidly in the place of my birth. I had partisans there who were disposed to serve me, and formidable adversaries whom it was necessary to find in fault in order to destroy them all together ; and I conceived the following plan for accomplishing my object.

“ It was my custom, after a hunting party, to lie down to take my afternoon sleep in the shade of the wood of Bentcha ; and I made one of my trusty followers propose to my enemies to watch me thither, and to fall on and assassinate me. I myself gave the plan of the whole affair, and then, going to the appointed place before my adversaries, I took a goat, and tying its legs together, and muzzling it, put it lying under my cloak. I then returned to my house by byways, and in disguise. Meantime my ene-

\* According to M. de Pouqueville.

mies made a general discharge of their guns on the goat, thinking to make an end of me. They could not ascertain the truth; for a party of my friends, who were purposely at hand, appeared on hearing the sound of the firing. My supposed murderers came into Tebelin, crying, *Veli Bey is no more—we are delivered from him.* The tidings reached my harem. I heard the cries of my mother and my women, mingled with the shouts of my enemies. I did not stir. I let the news be spread. I waited till night, when they were drunk with wine and joy. I then undeceived my mother, and, aided by my partisans, I fell on my enemies. Night was on my side. They were all exterminated before the sun appeared. I distributed their riches and their houses among my creatures; and from that moment I could say that Tebelin was mine."

Ali cherished a deep hatred to his brother-in-law, the pasha; and it is said that he endeavoured to prevail on Khainitza to poison her husband. She had, however, the virtue to resist his solicitations, and he gave over the project for a time. At length he found a more willing agent in Soliman, the pasha's brother, to whom he promised the hand of Khainitza, and the inheritance of her husband. As the conspirators had constant access to the pasha, they sought one day a private interview; and as they were conversing, Soliman drew out his pistol, and shot his brother through the head. It was given out that the pasha had died of apoplexy. Khainitza was forced to espouse his murderer. Her only son soon followed his father to the tomb.

The ambition of Ali was not yet to be gratified. The Sanjak, (*standard*,) or pashalik of two tails of Delvino, was bestowed by the Porte on Selim Bey, belonging to one of the principal families of the country; and the seat of government was established in the town of Delvino. Ali applied himself to gain the affection of the new pasha, and he became the constant inmate of his palace. All his thoughts were now directed towards the destruction of his benefactor, and the upright character of Selim Pasha furnished him with the means of ruining him with the Porte.

The pashalik of Delvino bordered on the possessions of the Venetians, on the mainland; and this had been a constant source of quarrel between them and the preceding pashas. Selim adopted a different course from his predecessors, and he established amicable relations with the government of Corfu. He some time afterwards sold a wood near Lake Pelodes to the Venetians, and Ali took advantage of this circumstance to malign him to the Porte, already ill-inclined towards him on account of noble qualities. He accused Selim of having alienated a part of the Sultan's territory, and of a design of putting the whole province of Delvino into the hands of the infidels. Without any enquiry being made, a firman was secretly forwarded to Ali, directing the death of Selim Pasha.

Ali, who had retired to Tebelin, hastened to Delvino, where he was received by Selim with his usual kindness, and an apartment was assigned him in the palace. He repaired every morning, according to custom, to pay his re-

spects to the pasha. At length he feigned indisposition, and requested that the pasha would visit him in his apartment. Murderers were concealed in a press. The pasha came. At the appointed signal, (Ali's letting his coffee-cup fall on the ground,) the assassins rushed forth, fellow, and slew, the excellent Selim. His guards came in at the noise. Ali displayed the firman, and they bowed submission. The head of the pasha was cut off, to be sent to the Seraglio. The cadi, the beys, and the Greek primates, were assembled to draw up a statement of the whole affair; and a seal was placed on the goods of the murdered man, which now belonged to the sultan.

The reward of the traitor was the pashalik of Larissa, (*i. e.* Thessaly,) and the office of Dervenjee-bashee; and by the orders of the Porte, he took into his pay a corps of 4000 resolute Albanians, to crush the power of the armatoles of his province.

"I left behind me, in Lower Albania," said Ali Pasha, as we are now to call him, "a phantom of a pasha, who was the plaything of the beys of Jannina, and I avoided passing through that town on my way to my post. I passed through the Zagori, where the trusty Nootza\*—whose soul be with God! for he was a brave man—replenished my purse, without asking permission of Soliman, who was then Sanjak-bey of Epirus. We raised, with the aid of God, and my brave Sheeptars, a trifling con-

\* Nootza was a Greek of Mount Pindus, with whom Ali had formed an intimacy during his first abode in Thessaly.

tribution, which stood me in good stead ; for, on arriving at Trikkala, I found nothing but an exhausted country. They had here a crowd of poor peasants, whose labours enrich such personages as we. The agas of Larissa had invented conspiracies, in order to have a pretext for seizing their sheep, their wives and children. Those they ate, these they sold. I saw at once that there had never been any rebels or robbers but the Turks. I was soon, therefore, in a state of hostility with the beys of Larissa. However, I began with pouncing on the parties of armatoles who infested the plains; and I speedily drove them back into their mountains, where I kept them, as it were, penned up, till I should find occasion to make use of them. I, at the same time, sent some heads to Constantinople to amuse the sultan and the populace, and money to his ministers ; for *water sleeps, but envy never does.*"

Ali spent some years in Thessaly, where he re-established order throughout the whole country. Under the guise of a rigid adherence to justice, he amassed great treasures ; for it was always on the wealthy beys, and other persons of opulence, that the sword of justice descended. Presents, opportunely bestowed, gained him favour and influence at the Porte. At length he found himself in a condition to bid for the pashalik of Jannina.

It was previously, however, necessary to ruin the actual pasha in the mind of the sultan. For this purpose, Ali, by means of Nootza, formed an intimacy with Paleópoolo, the Greek voivode of Ætolia, and head of the armatoles of that province. They had an interview at Trik-

kala, in the year 1786, where they agreed on the plan which was to make Ali pasha of Jannina. In pursuance of this plan, Paleópoolo and the captains of the klephts of Thessaly, Canavos and Boocovallas, began to make incursions into the territories of the pasha of Jannina. Epirus and Acarnania became scenes of desolation and plunder; while Thessaly was flourishing beneath the government of Ali Pasha. The complaints of the province reached the Porte, and the Turkish government, acting, as usual, without enquiry, deemed that the wisest course would be to confer the ravaged province, under the title of an arpalik, (*province to be conquered,*) on the able pasha of Thessaly.

Since the death of Khoord Pasha, the beys of Jannina had enjoyed a state of anarchic independence, directing all things according to their pleasure, and keeping the feeble and inefficient pashas, who came to govern them, prisoners in the Castle of the Lake. Ali Pasha had long had his faction among them; but owing to the dread entertained of his character, it was not strong; and when the news arrived of his appointment to the government, it was almost unanimously resolved not to receive him. Ali, not feeling himself strong enough to reduce them by force, contented himself with pillaging their farms and villages. Those who suffered from these proceedings were anxious to accommodate matters between him and the beys; and, to spare the pride of these last, it was arranged that he should be secretly introduced into the town. Accordingly, accompanied by Nootza, and some of his friends, he entered

Jannina by night, and going to the tribunal of the *cadi*, he demanded to have his *firmans* of investiture registered and published. This legal act being performed, he was proclaimed pasha of two tails of Jannina; and he thus united in his person three important posts. This event occurred in the year 1788.

To break the power of the beys of Jannina was the first object of Ali; and to effect this he had recourse to every means of depriving them of their property, well assured, that, when poor, they could form no party against him in the *divan*. At the same time he lavished his caresses on the Sheeptars; and, what had been hitherto unknown, he introduced Greeks into his council, knowing the advantages which he might derive from their talents.

Feeling himself now sufficiently strong, he resolved to set about avenging the insults of his mother and himself on the people of Cormovo; for the ferocious Khamco, when dying, had charged him never to rest till he had had vengeance on them and the people of Gardiki; and Ali, though the most heedless of men in cases of benefits, never forgot an injury or insult. He collected a force, of which he gave the command to Demir Dost, who had been *kaimakan* (*standard-bearer*) of Delvino, and sent it against Cormovo. Ali's own sons, Mookhtar and Veli, and their cousin, Ismail Pashô, made their first campaign in this expedition. Under the guise of a truce, the people of Cormovo were lulled into security, and then were fallen on in the night, and massacred. An accession of territory to Ali was the consequence of this act.



As this territory belonged to the pashalik of Berat, or Middle Albania, Ibrahim Pasha was roused at this encroachment; and, after some fruitless negotiation, he sent a body of troops under the command of his brother Sephir, bey of Avlona. Against these, Ali summoned the armatoles of Thessaly; and after villages had been burnt, peasants robbed and hanged, and flocks carried off on both sides, peace was made. Ibrahim gave his daughter in marriage to Mookhtar, the eldest son of Ali, and the disputed territory as her dower. As Sephir bey had displayed qualities which might prove formidable hereafter, Ali contrived to have him poisoned by a physician; and, after his usual fashion, he hanged the agent of the crime, that no witness might remain of it.

Such had been the principal events of the life of Ali Pasha, previous to the time when he attempted the reduction of the Sooliotes, of which brave and hardy tribe we now proceed to give some account.

#### CHAPTER IV.

*Origin of Sooli—Manners of the Sooliotes—Their First War with Ali Pasha—Second War—Third War—The Monk Samuel—Surrender of Sooli—Treachery of Ali Pasha.*

IN the latter half of the 17th century, some shepherds of Gardiki, in Epirus, to escape the ill-usage of the Turks, retired with their fami-

lies and their flocks to the district of Khaimoorree, (*Chimæra*,) which faces the isle and channel of Corfu, and fixed their abode on one of its most rugged mountains. Other victims of tyranny, both Greeks and Christian Albanians, soon joined them; and to the number of 100 persons, they formed a village, which was named Sooli, as it was situated in the ancient Selleis. They gradually extended their power over the neighbourhood, and at the close of the last century, Sooli was the capital of a little republic.\*

The inhabitants of this republic were the Sooliotes, and the Para-Sooliotes; the former, the descendants of the original founders of the state, were the governing party. They dwelt in eleven villages, of which the four oldest, Sooli, Avaríkos, Samoniva, and Kiápha, were named the Tetrakhorion. The Para-Sooliotes inhabited sixty villages, conquered from the neighbouring agas. These people were the subjects; and though the Sooliotes were as rigorous masters as ever the Turks had been, yet, as they were Christians, their yoke was borne without complaint. The Sooliotes, when their power had forced the Porte to recognise them as an independent people, still continued to pay the capitation-tax, as *rayas*, for themselves and their subjects, on whom they raised the necessary sums; and they also obliged the pasha and the neighbouring agas to pay them *black-mail*, to save their lands from devastation.

The villages of the Tetrakhorion were built

\* For an account of the Sooliotes, see Fauriel, vol. i. p. 225, *et seq.*

on the precipices of a mountain, and the only approach to them was by a winding defile of three miles in length—a labyrinth of trees, rocks, and beetling cliffs. At certain distances, on the most rugged parts of the defile, were erected towers for defence. Near the first tower, at the end of the first mile, lay the village of Kia-pha; and two miles farther, on steep cliffs, surrounding a circular valley, were built the other three villages. The remaining seven villages, called the Heptakhorion, were colonies of the former, and lay on a fertile plain, at the foot of the mountain. The population of these eleven villages was about 5000 souls. The Para-Sooliotes, whose villages were on the flat country round the mountain, within a circuit whose radius was from 12 to 15 miles, amounted to about 7000 persons.

The 5000 Sooliotes formed about 800 families, which were collected into 47 pharas, or tribes. These pharas were each composed of the families which came of a common stock, or were allied; and each phara was governed by the head of the oldest and most respectable family in it. All private disputes were settled by the heads of the families, or pharas, to which the disputants belonged; and all public matters were discussed and settled by the council of the 47 heads of pharas.

Peace and war were necessarily almost the only public business of the state; and in the latter case, every measure was regulated beforehand. At the approach of an enemy, the Sooliotes of the plain were to abandon their houses and property; the old men, the women, and

children, to retire to the mountain ; the men to place themselves at the entrance of the defiles, and the other Sooliotes to come down from the mountain to aid them. The Para-Sooliotes were abandoned to the enemy.

Their only arms were the musket and the sword. Each man posted himself where he could act with most advantage, and least danger. No one was to fly, or show any terror of the enemy. It was their maxim to oppose but a few of their men to a large body of enemies, but to attack a small party with all their force ; they would therefore send but 150 or 200 against 5000 or 6000 men, while they would fall on 500 or 1000 with double their number. For, in the former case, all they could hope for was to repel the enemy ; in the latter, there was the prospect of destroying the whole corps, or of making a number of prisoners, whom they might sell, or set at ransom.

As 1500 combatants was the utmost that the Sooliotes could muster, the lives of their men were extremely precious in their eyes ; and every precaution was adopted to prevent quarrels, which would so easily become bloody feuds, and bring on the destruction of the community.

The women followed the men to the war, to bring them provisions and ammunition, and they not unfrequently fought at their sides. By their presence they stimulated them to exertion ; and they have been sometimes seen to snatch his arms from one who they thought was behaving cowardly, and to take his place.

The petty wars which the Sooliotes had, from the time of their first establishment, waged

against their neighbours, can only be known from their effects on the extension of the Sooliote dominion. The people themselves remained unknown beyond Epirus, till their conflicts with Ali Pasha drew the attention of Europe to the mountains of Thesprotia. In 1787, Catherine II. of Russia, then at war with the Porte, conceived the design of rousing the Greeks to insurrection, and Russian emissaries traversed the country with that view. The recollection of the disasters of 1770, however, had cooled the attachment of the Greeks for those who, as they believed, had betrayed them, and they were not to be moved. In 1789, some Greek deputies set out for St Petersburg, where they met a most flattering reception; and on their return, Sotiri, primate of Vostítza, wrote to the Sooliotes, informing them of the designs of the northern empress in favour of Greece, and inviting them to commence hostilities against Ali Pasha, as a signal for the general rising of all Hellas.\*

Ali, on hearing that the Sooliotes were showing symptoms of an intention to renew hostilities, sent 3000 men against them. The Sooliotes, who were prepared to receive them, had placed themselves in ambush in their defiles; and the troops of the pasha, fearing to attack them, spread themselves over the country, plundering and massacring the Christian peasantry. As they were retiring, laden with booty, and dragging numbers of Christians into slavery, 200 of the brave Sooliotes pursued and fell upon them with great slaughter, freeing the captives, re-

\* Pouqueville.

covering the spoil, and chasing the ravagers to the valley of Jannina, where they burned the mosques and the country houses. Ali, being at this time summoned to join the army at the Danube, and Greece remaining quiet, the Sooliotes, content with having repelled the enemy, desisted from any farther hostilities. In 1791, after the return of the pasha, they descended again from their eyry, and spread their ravages over Amphilochia; the commerce of Lower Albania was disturbed by them, and their daring bands penetrated even to Mount Pindus. But, as they plundered indifferently friend and foe, they alienated both the Turks of Thesprotia and the kleptie chiefs of Agrapha (*Pindus*.) At the commencement of winter they returned to repose in their mountains.

The Sooliotes, as usual, satisfied with their success, remained inactive; and Ali shortly afterwards feigning some causes of quarrel with the people of Argyrocastro, he wrote to the Sooliotes in the most flattering terms, inviting them to join him in an expedition against that town, and offering them double the pay of the Albanians, because, as he said, they were twice as brave as they. The Sooliotes, though justly distrustful of Ali, could not resist the temptation of so much money; but they were prudent enough to send only seventy men, under the command of Tzavellas, sufficient, as they assured him in their letter, to make him victorious in every quarter. Ali, who perceived their distrust, took no notice at the time; he received his auxiliaries with every demonstration of respect, and joining them to 10,000 chosen Al-

banians, he set out for Argyrocastro. At about thirty miles from Jannina he made a halt; the Sooliotes, unsuspecting of treachery, laid down their arms and went to take repose. Ali instantly ordered his Albanians to fall upon and make prisoners of them. The Sooliote warriors could offer no resistance, and all of them were destined to be conducted to Jannina, and cast into its dungeons. Turning then suddenly, Ali directed his march for Sooli, hoping to take the inhabitants by surprise. Fortunately one of the captive Sooliotes broke from his conductors, plunged into the river Thyamis, and swimming across it under a shower of balls, reached the mountains, and announced the approach of Ali, who arrived within three hours at the mouth of the defiles, which he now found well guarded. Without venturing to attack them, the wily pasha fell back, resolving to try the effect of stratagem and treachery. Summoning Tzavellas before him, he menaced him with the most cruel death if he did not put him in possession of Sooli. "How can I do so," replied he, "when I am your prisoner? If you would have me to do it, give me my liberty; let me send to Sooli for my son, and let him remain in your hands as a hostage." Ali assented; Photos, the son of Lambros Tzavellas, a youth of eighteen, was put into his hands, and his father set out on his return for Sooli. Ali was expecting the accomplishment of his promise, when the following letter was presented to him.

"Ali Pasha Tebelin, I exult in having deceived a knave; I am ready to defend my country against a robber like thee. My son may

die, but I shall avenge him before the grave receives me. Some Turks, like thee, will say that I am a father without pity, who have sacrificed my son for my personal freedom. But tell me, wouldst thou not, if thou became master of our mountains, have slaughtered my son and all the population? Who would avenge him then? Now that I am free, we may be conquerors; my wife is still young, and I may have other children. If my son murmured at being sacrificed for his country, he would be unworthy of living, and of bearing my name. Come on, then, infidel. I burn for vengeance!

“ I, thy sworn enemy,

“ TZAVELLAS.”

This letter filled Ali with rage; but his passions were always under the control of prudence, and he did not deem it expedient to injure the hostages. He preferred daunting the Sooliotes by the display of his forces. He divided his army of 15,000 men into four corps, the two largest of which, commanded by his son Mookhtar and himself, occupied the Sooliote villages upon the defiles leading to Sooli.

A bold plan for surprising the pasha in the midst of his camp, and carrying him off, was formed by the Sooliotes; but, fortunately for Ali, it came to his knowledge, and he resolved to delay no longer, but to make the meditated attack. Assembling his officers, and 7000 or 8000 of the bravest of his Albanians, he addressed them in terms calculated to excite their fanaticism and hatred of the Sooliotes, and he promised a gratification of 500 piastres to each of



those who should penetrate to Sooli and take it. The Albanians drew their swords, and swore to accomplish his wishes.

To oppose this formidable force, the Sooliotes had but 1300 warriors, commanded by George Botzaris, the rival of Lambros Tzavellas in valour and experience. On the 2d of July, 1792, the troops of Ali advanced to the attack; after a brave defence of the defiles, the Sooliotes fell back to Kiapha, where small parties could act with greater advantage. The Albanians attacked them with a degree of obstinacy and intrepidity to which they had not been accustomed; twice repulsed with great slaughter, they returned a third time to the charge. The heat of the day was now excessive; the Sooliotes were suffering from the combined effects of hunger, thirst, and fatigue; their guns were grown so hot with constant firing, that they could no longer hold them; and, after a combat of ten hours, they fell back, in order to take up new positions in the higher part of the mountain. At the second tower, a small detachment, commanded by George Botzaris in person, made a halt; a much larger corps, under the command of Lambros Tzavellas, placed itself in ambush in a dense wood which overhangs the defile; and 400 men took their post at Sooli, to oppose the enemy in front.

The Albanians, elated with their success, pushed forward; as they met no opposition at the second tower, they passed it by. They continued to ascend the mountain, and at length they approach Sooli. Here some of the Sooliote women, unacquainted with the plan of the

chiefs, who were only waiting till the Albanians were caught in the trap which they had laid for them, thinking that the glory of saving their country was reserved for them, prepared to defend the village. Moskho, the wife of Lambros Tzavellas, seized an axe and broke open a chest of cartridges: she filled her apron with them, grasped a sword and gun, and, at the head of her companions, advanced to meet the Albanians; the 400 men joined them, and fell on the ascending foes, and drove them back. As they fled towards the second tower, Botzaris opened a destructive fire on them; at the same time Tzavellas, at the head of those who were in ambush, took them in flank; balls showered on them in all directions, fragments of rocks were hurled down the sides of the hills; and every Albanian who had passed the second tower found his death—the rest fled towards the plain pursued by the victors.

Moskho was one of the most ardent in the pursuit. Around the tower of Kiapha she sees the bodies of ten young Sooliotes, to whom had been given the charge of defending it. In one of them, who had just breathed his last, she recognises her nephew, Kitsos Tzavellas; she bends over him, kisses his lips, covers him with her apron—"Beloved nephew," says she, "I am come too late to save thy life, but I can at least avenge thy death on thy murderers;"—she then set forward in pursuit of the flying Albanians.

The Albanians were flying on all sides in dismay; they fling away their arms, seek refuge in the woods and mountains; arms, ammunition, baggage, every thing falls into the hands of the

victorious Sooliotes. 3000 Albanians, it is said, were slain; the loss of the Sooliotes amounted to 74 men killed, and 100 wounded.

Ali, who had seen the catastrophe from a distance, was the first to fly, and his speed was such, that he killed two horses between his camp and Jannina. He shut himself up in his palace, and for an entire fortnight he admitted no one to his presence. Obligated to defer his plans of vengeance, he sent a bishop to the Sooliotes, and, through him, made a peace with them on the following conditions:—1st, to cede to them a certain extent of territory; 2dly, to pay them 100,000 piastres as a ransom for the prisoners whom they had taken; 3dly, to set at liberty all the Sooliotes who were then in his hands, particularly the young Photos Tzavellas.

When the French, in 1797, took possession of the Ionian Isles, they also became masters of the territories of Venice on the coast of Epirus; and Ali affected the utmost friendship and consideration for these powerful new neighbours. But when, on account of their expedition to Egypt, the Porte had declared war against them, he made use of the opportunity of attacking and making himself master of Prévesa, (whose inhabitants he massacred in the most barbarous manner,) and of burning Bútrinto, the ancient Buthrotum, and Vónitza. He was preparing, in his zeal for the Porte, to reduce Parga beneath his mild dominion, when the appearance of the Russian and Ottoman fleet saved it from his talons, and Admiral Ocsacoff took possession of it in the name of his imperial master. In consequence of the successes of Ali, the Porte now

sent him the third horsetail, and the title of vizir ; and as the French had been the beaten party, the British admiral, Nelson, sent one of his officers to congratulate the *hero of Epirus*—the merciless Ali. It is, however, more than probable, that the Briton knew little of the real character of the Epirote.

The winter of 1798 was spent by Ali in making preparations for the destruction of the Sooliotes, whom he regarded as the greatest obstacles to his ambition. He wrote a circular to all the agas of the neighbourhood, calling on them to aid in the destruction of the impious race of the Sooliotes, before they were attacked by the French and Russians, who were destined to overturn the Ottoman empire. As the Russians now occupied the Ionian Isles, the Mohammedan agas and beys were alive to the danger of their having an ally in the interior of the country ; and being greatly struck by the prophetic tone of the vizir's letter, they all repaired to Jannina, and at the end of three months Ali was enabled to march at the head of 12,000 Mussulmans against the tribes of Sooli.

The Sooliotes were completely off their guard, and George Botzaris, the hero of the preceding war, who, either indignant at not being continued in his command, or gained by a bribe of 25,000 piastres offered him by the vizir, had retired from Sooli, with all the families of his phara, in which were 200 men able to bear arms. Undismayed, however, they took to their arms, resolved to defend their lives and liberty. On the 2d of June, the troops of the vizir, divided into four columns, advanced

on four points, and posted themselves round the mountain of Sooli. Ali himself took his place with the reserve at Lyva, a village halfway between Sooli and Jannina. Photos Tzavellas and Kitzos Botzaris, who commanded the Sooliotes, instead of lying in wait in the defiles, advanced to meet the enemy, and after a severe conflict of seven hours, they drove them from the banks of the Acheron, with a loss of 370 killed, and two pieces of cannon, and a number of muskets. The wounded, who were numerous, also fell into the hands of the victors, whose loss had been inconsiderable.

The vizir was greatly mortified at this repulse; but he still persisted in his resolution, deeming it, however, necessary to employ more troops than he had originally destined for the enterprise. These measures caused some delay; but, on the night of the 8th June, orders were issued to march at break of day to attack the defiles of Sooli.

The troops were taking their repose, preparatory to the toils of the coming morn, when, in the depth of the night, they were roused from their sleep by a volley of musketry. They sprang up, crying, "The Sooliotes! the Sooliotes!" It was in effect the 200 brave Sooliotes who, three days before, had routed the Turks of Zágooris, who, now reinforced by 50 others, and still led by Photos Tzavellas, had fallen on the Albanians. The darkness of the night, combined with the suddenness of the attack, and their terror of the Sooliotes, rendered the Albanians incapable of making any effective defence; some hid themselves, others fought at

random, falling on each other; and it was not till the dawn of day that they could attempt a retreat in any order. Scarcely had they set out when there came on a furious tempest of hail and wind, which, driving in their faces, impeded their progress, and exposed them to the swords of the Sooliotes. The terrors of superstition were now united with those of the enemy to complete the rout. They fled pell-mell to Lyva, where Ali was waiting, expecting to hear of their success. His presence no longer inspired them with their usual awe; and they boldly and openly declared, that they would not fight any more against the Sooliotes, who, they said, were not men, but incarnate devils.

Ali, seeing the temper of his soldiers, and unwilling to provoke them by any unseasonable rigour, promised that he would not require them any more to engage the Sooliotes, but only to keep them blocked up by means of forts, which he would have built for that purpose. This assurance quieted them; and Ali, without loss of time, collecting 3000 masons, made them work night and day till they had raised twelve forts round the mountain, on the points by which the Sooliotes communicated with the surrounding country. The nearest of these forts was within two hours' march of Sooli, the most distant within five. The vizir himself retired to Jannina, leaving his son Mookhtar Pasha to carry on the blockade.

As the autumn approached, the Sooliotes began to feel the pressure of want. They therefore took advantage of dark and stormy nights to pass the line of blockade, and to go through

the country collecting supplies ; and they rarely returned without bringing with them cattle or horses, or men taken from the enemy. Epidemic diseases also afflicted the troops of the vizir ; and Ali, finding how little progress he had made, resolved to have, as usual, recourse to treachery and deceit. He sent to the Sooliotes, offering to put things on the old footing between them and him, provided they would give twenty-four hostages, as a security for their not committing any ravages on his territory. To these terms the Sooliotes readily assented, and they gave the hostages. But the faithless satrap, when he got the hostages into his power, dropped all thoughts of peace, now knowing, that, as it was in his power to put them to death, if he pleased, their relatives would be opposed to the war. A letter from the Sooliotes to this effect undeceived him. " Ali Pasha, as yet we have lost 17 men in defending ourselves against thee. Put to death our hostages, and forty-one victims will have perished for their country. It is worth more, and will not be given at that price."

Again, Ali offered, if they would quit their mountain, to give them, in exchange for it, a fertile district, and 2000 purses of money, or, if they chose, to let them pass over to the Ionian Islands. They thanked him for his offers ; but assured him, that neither their liberty nor their country was to be purchased by gold, and that they would defend them as long as there was a Sooliote alive. Hopeless of bribing the community, Ali assailed the patriotism of individuals ; and he sent to tell Dimos Drakos, one



of their chiefs, that if he and his tribe would quit Sooli, he would give him 800 purses. Faithful to his country, Dimos made answer that it was needless to send him all that money, which he was unable so much as to count ; and that even if he was, he would not sell for it a single stone of his country, much less his country itself. His arms, he said, were the only riches and honours that he valued ; his ambition was to defend his natal soil.

Ten months had now elapsed since the blockade had been formed. Disease, desertion, and the sword, had greatly diminished the pasha's army ; but new troops arrived each day to fill up the vacancies. The Sooliotes, on their side, had lost twenty-five men, their provisions were nearly run out, and the surrounding country was quite exhausted. They were reduced to feed upon roots and herbage, and on the bark of trees, pounded up with a little flour. Still no one spoke of surrender ; and, feeble and exhausted as they were, they were always in arms to oppose or to harass the enemy. They contrived to send away about 200 old men, women, and children, who were hospitably received in the Ionian Isles by the Russians. The famine, however, still increased, and it was at length resolved to make an attempt at conveying provisions from Parga. Accordingly, one dark night, a detachment, composed of 413 men and 174 women, descended the mountain, passed the line of blockade, and safely reached Parga, where they were received with the utmost kindness. The Parganotes kept and fed them for four days, and on the fifth morning they



departed, laden with as much provisions as, in their feeble state, they were able to carry to a distance of twelve leagues, through rough roads, and the camp of the enemy.

When the Sooliotes approached their mountains, they proceeded with the utmost caution. A hundred men, less heavily laden than the rest, went first, to be prepared in case of an attack. This precaution was not needless. Eighteen hundred Albanians were lying in wait; but, daunted by the air of the Sooliotes, they did not venture to move, and the detachment reached the defile in safety. Their arrival was a seasonable relief to the half-famished spectres who awaited them, and the provisions which they brought restored them to some degree of vigour. But this was but transient, and famine soon reappeared among them. Yet it is remarkable, that so far from entertaining any thoughts of surrender, they retained a pride, and even gaiety of humour, suited to the times of their greatest prosperity. Thus, when Ali set a price of five piastres on their heads, their chiefs issued the following proclamation in return:—

“ Ali Pasha rates the heads of the Sooliotes too low. It would appear that he does not know the value of them, and how hard they are to get. *We* think that we rate at their just value those of the Turks; and every Sooliote who brings one shall receive a reward of five cartridges.”

Again, the Turks took one day an ass belonging to the Sooliotes, which had strayed within their lines. The Sooliotes sent to reclaim it, and it was returned, without any ran-

som being fixed. The Sooliotes having just then taken a Turk, sent him in exchange for the ass, excusing themselves for not having sent the full value of their donkey.

The animosity, however, between the Sooliotes and their besiegers, was not extreme. The army of the vizir was, as we have seen, chiefly composed of volunteers and auxiliaries, whom his arts or their own fanaticism had drawn to his standard, and who in secret dreaded and hated him. The slender success which had as yet attended their operations, and some severities exercised by him against them, made them lend an attentive ear to the representations of Photos Tzavellas and Dimos Drakos, the Sooliote chiefs; and they saw that they were acting against their own interest in contributing to extend the power of Ali, who, as they well knew, would, when eased of his apprehensions from the Sooliotes, turn his arts and his arms against themselves. A league against Ali Pasha was secretly concluded between the Sooliotes, on one part, and Ibrahim, vizir of Berat, Moostafa, pasha of Delvino, Islam Progno, aga of Paramythia, Mahmood of Conispolis, and the beys of Khaimoori, on the other, to make simultaneous war on the vizir of Jannina. The Sooliotes received forty purses from their allies for the purchase of provisions and ammunition, and they made an exchange of hostages. Those of the Sooliotes, in number six, were sent to Delvino. The agas and beys, taking advantage of the absence of Mookhtar Pasha, retired to their homes, and the Sooliotes were left at liberty.

Ali was enraged beyond measure at the news

of this conspiracy against him, and still more, when, in compliance with a treaty concluded between Russia and the Porte, he was obliged to give up the Venetian districts which he had ravished from the French, and which were now formed into a voivodilik, independent of him. On this occasion, we are told,\* he summoned to his presence Kanavos, a klephtic chief, to whom he was indebted for his life. "We are alone," said he; "you see my situation, you see the number of my enemies: well, there are but three things in the world that I fear; guess what they are."—"The first, of course, is God."—"Psha! I never feared him."—"Well, then, tell what they are?"—"The first is the Sooliote, Kitzos Botzaris;† the second is Yoosoof bey, the Sultana Valide's kiaya; the third is"—"Whom?"—"Yourself! Your courage and your services make you an object of terror to me."—"My life is in your hands, and you may dispose of it."—"I would tear it from you this moment, were it not for fear of my soldiers; you see how formidable you are to me. Where is your brother-in-law, Paleopoolo?"—"He is returned to Agrapha."—"Do you know any thing of Kitzos Botzaris?"—"He is at the head of the Sooliotes."—"How you all hate me! Desire Paleopoolo to come hither with all his men; you will soon see that Ali is a lighted torch, which blazes like the sun; when he rises, he will disperse the shades." Kanavos retired; wrote to his brother-in-law, informing him of this conversation,

\* Pouqueville, I. p. 155.

† More probably Photos Tzavellas, as Botzaris had left Sooli.

and desiring him to collect his men, and to be upon his guard. Some nights after, as he was passing through the streets of Jannina, he was wounded in the shoulder by a pistol-ball; he immediately set out for Ætolia, but the pasha had laid an ambush for him, and he and his palicares were all slain. All the klephts of Thessaly, Ætolia, and Acarnania, took arms to avenge the murder of Kanavos; the beys of Sálona also shared in the confederacy, and the Peloponnesian Colocotronis crossed the gulf of Lepanto, to join the warriors of Ætolia.

This apparently formidable confederacy gave little apprehension to Ali. By bribery and by artifice he raised up internal enemies to Ibrahim and the agas, and by gaining the governor of the castle of Delvino, he got the Sooliote hostages into his hands, four of whom he immediately hanged; the other two, the brother of Photos Tzavellas, and the son of Dimos Drakos, by means of whom he hoped to gain or to intimidate these chiefs, he retained.

When the news of their hostages having fallen into the hands of Ali, and of the death of four of them, reached Sooli, Photos and Dimos assembled the people and their priests. "We gave," said they, "six hostages to the aga of Delvino; they have all fallen into the hands of Ali Pasha; they are all dead,—for such is the fate of every true Sooliote whom he gets into his power. Repeat the prayers of the dead for them all; when we have prayed for the six victims, we will go and avenge their death on the Turks." The prayers were said, and on leaving the church, Photos and his men descended from

the mountain, and soon steeped their swords in the blood of the Mussulmans.

Just at this time Ali was obliged to call away a portion of his troops from before Sooli, to send them, under his son Mookhtar, to the aid of the sultan against Georgim, pasha of Adrianople, who was in rebellion. The Sooliotes took advantage of this interval of ease to lay in stores of ammunition and provisions, and prepare for the impending conflict.

There was at this time in Sooli a monk named Samuel, called *The Last Judgment*, (ἡ τελευταία κρίσις,) from the words with which he concluded all his discourses. This man was a zealous and patriotic visionary; his only study was the prophetic books of Scripture, especially the Apocalypse, in which he fancied he found the most express predictions of the triumphs of Sooli. He was indefatigable in his exhortations to the people, all whose toils and dangers he cheerfully shared, and his eloquent discourses wrought them up to a high pitch of enthusiasm. To this monk the chiefs of the Sooliotes confided the charge of the ammunition and the provisions, and he erected a tower to contain them between Kia-pa and Sooli, which he named Kioonghi.

On the return of Mookhtar, the blockade was made more strict, and, the troops of the pasha taking their station at the mouths of the defiles, the Sooliotes found themselves at length completely hemmed in. After the delay of a few weeks, Ali resolved once more to try the effect of negotiation and treachery. George Botzaris, whose treason has been already mentioned, was now dead, leaving two sons, Noti and Kitzos,

young men of great merit, but who found themselves, in consequence of their father's conduct, obliged to continue in the service of the vizir, who now resolved to employ them against their country. Kitzos Botzaris was, therefore, the bearer of two proposals to the Sooliotes, one of which was, that a strong tower should be erected in Sooli, in which Kitzos Botzaris should reside with forty of his men, with power to punish any Sooliote who should commit any ravages in any place belonging to the pashalik of Jannina; the other, that Photos Tzavellas should be obliged to leave Sooli.

It might have been expected that these terms would be rejected by the Sooliotes, who were now well supplied with provisions and ammunition, and whose admiration of the valour of the brave Photos was such, that, "*If I lie, may the sword of Photos cut off my days,*" was become their ordinary asseveration. But they seem to have been weary of everlasting war, and even to have placed some confidence in the words of the vizir, as reported by Botzaris. The chiefs besought Photos to give way for the good of his country. Photos, whose patriotism was pure, and his judgment unclouded, sought in vain to open their eyes. Seeing them immovable, he hastily left the assembly, ran to his house, and set fire to it, and then retired with his family to the village of Khortia, distant about six miles, and beyond the Sooliote territory.

Ali had now obtained the object of his negotiation, in depriving the Sooliotes of the courage and the talent of Photos. He instantly wrote to Botzaris to proceed no farther in the busi-

ness at present, and he wrote at the same time to Photos, exhorting him to come to Jannina, to confer with him on the affairs of Sooli, offering all the securities he could require for his safety. The invitation was accepted by Photos, and he met with a most flattering reception from the crafty vizir, who at once proposed to him to avenge himself on the Sooliotes, by aiding to subdue them. Photos coolly replied, that to do so was no longer in his power. Ali then proposed that he should make all his tribe and his party leave Sooli. Photos, who, from the beginning, was resolved how to act, affected to hesitate, to raise objections, and concluded by agreeing to go to Sooli, and try what he could do to serve the pasha, pledging his word to return to Jannina, and give an account of his success.

Photos set forth, came to Sooli, assembled the people, revealed to them the machinations of the pasha, and was fully believed by them. They implored his pardon for their treatment of him, pledged themselves to rebuild his house for him, to be entirely guided by him, and never again to treat with the pasha, if he would but stay and be their leader as before. Gratified at seeing their ancient spirit rekindled, Photos assured them of his devotion to his country; but his word was pledged, and in spite of their intreaties, he returned to Jannina, where the pasha, aware of the manner in which he had performed his mission, flung him into a dungeon, without hearing or seeing him.

## CHAPTER V.

*The war against Sooli authorized by the Porte—Treachery of Goosis—Patriotism of Photos Tzavellas—Capitulation of Sooli—Death of Samuel—Treachery of Veli Pasha—Heroism of the Sooliote Women, and of Despo and her Daughters—Dispersion of the Sooliotes.*

THE war lingered on till the spring of 1803. Hitherto, the Porte had not authorized the war against the Sooliotes, and Ali had been carrying it on at his own responsibility ; but now, taking advantage of some real or pretended communication between them and the French, with whom the Porte was at war, Ali, by his bribes and his representations at the Seraglio, obtained a firman, authorizing him to summon to his standard the forces of all the neighbouring pashas, beys, and tenants of the crown, and attack and destroy the *Jowers* of Sooli. He was, in consequence, enabled to assemble a more numerous and more obedient army than before, which he sent to join that now under his son, Veli Pasha ; and the war proceeded with renewed vigour.

The Sooliotes were in want of neither provisions nor ammunition ; their courage was as fresh as ever. They harassed and destroyed the besiegers, who suffered, moreover, greatly from disease, who continually were diminished by desertion, and who cursed the madness of Ali in hoping ever to take the impregnable rock of Sooli. The month of September, 1803, saw the Sooliotes victorious and triumphant ; but it



was for the last time, and treason accomplished what force could not effect.

There was a man in Sooli named Pilios Goosis, who had one time, in an action with the enemy, turned his back and fled. According to the customs of Sooli, this offence was visited on the wife of the coward, who was not suffered to draw water at the fountain till all the other women had filled their pitchers. This insult, repeated day after day, exasperated the wife of Goosis; and, on her return home, she used to vent her indignation on him who had been the cause of it. Goosis, if so inclined, might have effaced his shame by performing some striking action against the enemy; but he preferred vengeance procured by treason. He secretly sought the quarters of Veli Pasha, accepted his bribes, and arranged with him a plan for the destruction of his country.

On the morning of the 25th September, Veli put all his Albanians in motion, and advanced towards Sooli. They forced the defile, and began to ascend the mountain. The alarm was spread, and the Sooliotes took to their arms; but there were only sixty men at Sooli, and at Kiapha a very small force; the greater part of the men being at Kioonghi with Samuel. The troops of the pasha pushed on direct for Sooli; the handful of men who were there flew to attack them; when suddenly 200 Albanians, whom the traitor Goosis had introduced in the night, and concealed in his house, which stood at the end of the village, rushed forth and fell on their rear, while the troops led by Veli took them in

front. Against such odds, resistance was vain, and Sooli became the prize of the pasha.

Veli now sent some troops against Avarikos, where they met no opposition, the inhabitants having retired to Kiapha. The people of Samoniva had also left their village, so that there were no places remaining to the Sooliotes but Kiapha and Kioonghi; the former defended by a tower and some intrenchments; the latter, strong only by its position on an abrupt rock. These the pasha cannonaded: day after day repeated assaults were made by his troops, and repelled by the brave Sooliotes; and the month of November arrived without the besiegers having made any apparent progress. But famine, the enemy most to be dreaded by the brave, was approaching; their ammunition, too, was running short, and there were no hopes of relief to cheer them.

The distressed state of his country reached the ears of Photos Tzavellas in the dungeons of Jannina. He sent to say to Ali, that if he would let him out of his prison, he would go and make the men of his tribe and party quit Kiapha and Kioonghi, which, when thus weakened, would be unable to hold out any longer. He at the same time offered to leave his wife and children as hostages for his good faith. Ali, wily as he was, caught eagerly at this proposal. Photos hastened to Veli Pasha; informed him of the arrangement which he had made with the vizir; named Parga as the place to which he would lead his partisans, and demanded and obtained a passport for them to that place. Photos then entered Kiapha; he assembled the chiefs, told

them what he had done, and how he designed to deceive the pasha. "I promised," said he, "that I and my friends would retire to Parga. Let us send instead of them the aged, the women, and the children. I will demand and obtain hostages for their safety on the way; and once they are safe at Parga, and none but men here, things will take a turn. Our valour will be no longer impeded by pity for our helpless parents and children, and we shall fight as it becomes men who combat for freedom and existence."

His words were received with applause and admiration. All that remained to be done being to induce the Parganotes to receive the fugitives, Photos himself proceeded to Parga for that purpose; it having been previously arranged that nothing should be attempted during his absence.

The Parganotes willingly consented to all that was required of them; but as they would do nothing without the consent of the Russians, who were now masters of Corfu, a message was sent off to the governor of that isle. Unfortunately, the weather was stormy; one, two, three days elapsed, and no answer arrived; a week, ten days, were passed by; the impatient Photos was in an agony of despair. The twelfth morning brought no tidings from Corfu, but it brought those from Kiapha, which put an end to all anxiety about the reply of the Russian commander. Photos set out for Kiapha, and arrived to find that all was lost.

The tribe of Zervas had been induced, as was said, by a chief named Kootzonikas and the

Botzaris, to treat with Veli Pasha, and obtain permission to quit Kiapha; and of the whole tribe, only Dimos Zervas and his near relations had remained, and Kiapha contained now only the friends and partisans of Photos. As these were too few in number to hope to resist with any chance of success, they resolved to abandon it, and retire to Kioonghi, which now contained the last hopes of Sooli. Ali, whose personal courage was not very conspicuous, on learning the state of affairs, hastened to the camp, reproached his son Veli with want of activity, and, collecting 18,000 men, resolved to end the war at one stroke. He previously summoned Photos to surrender; but the undaunted Sooliote replied, that the danger of his wife and children would never make him a coward; that the present condition of his country forbade him to think of them, and that he and his companions would never yield their arms.

It was the Sooliote custom never to wait to be attacked. As soon, therefore, as Photos saw the vizir's troops in motion, he placed himself at the head of 150 men and some women, and advanced to meet them. The fire of the Sooliotes was so rapid, that their guns soon became too hot to be used; and laying them down, they commenced hurling down, from the commanding position which they occupied, large masses of stone on the enemy. The combat lasted seven hours; at the end of which time, the Mussulmans retired, leaving 700 dead on the field of battle, and taking with them thrice that number of wounded. The loss of the Sooliotes, in this their last victory, was only eight men and

three women; fourteen of their number were wounded. Ali, not relishing this specimen of Sooliote valour, returned to Jannina, leaving Veli Pasha to conduct the war as he deemed best.

The war, however, was at its close; the provisions of the Sooliotes were nearly exhausted, and, to add to their misery, they were now totally destitute of water. After enduring the miseries of thirst for several days, they saw that nothing remained for them, but either to capitulate, or to fall sword in hand on the enemies, and perish, or cut their way through them. Affection for their wives and children at once diverted them from the latter course; and a capitulation, on condition of being allowed to depart with their families, and as much property as they could carry, was offered to Veli. The pasha accepted the offer with joy, and the capitulation was signed on the 12th December, 1803 (o. s.)

The following morning the Sooliotes departed. They dropt some natural tears at abandoning the graves of their fathers, and the mountains where, during a century and a half, they had lived in independence, and bidden defiance to the Turkish power; but they were not vanquished, and they still grasped their arms.

Samuel remained with four Sooliotes at Ki-oonghi, to deliver up the place, and the remaining stores, to the Mussulmans. He took his seat on a box full of powder; two officers, sent to take possession of the fortress, entered. "O monk," said they on entering, "how do you suppose that the vizir will treat you, now that he has got you into his hands?"—"He who

cares as little for life as I do, has little fear of vizirs," replied the monk; and, setting fire to the powder, he blew up himself, the officers, and two of the Sooliotes. The two remaining Sooliotes, who were near the door, were only wounded, and it was they who afterwards related the particulars of this scene.

Two thousand of the Sooliotes, led by Photos Tzavellas, Dimos Drakos, and Tzima Zervas, directed their course for Parga. A thousand others followed Kitzos Botzaris and Kootzonikas to Zalongos, a precipitous mountain, distant about twenty miles to the south, where there was a celebrated monastery and a small village. Others bent their steps towards the village of Regniassa, and others made for Mount Joomerka, intending thence to pass to the mountains of Ætolia.

It was far from being the intention of Veli or his father to adhere to the terms of the capitulation. Ali could never regard himself as the master of Sooli so long as a Sooliote was alive; and the opportunity of attacking and destroying his enemies, while separate, and off their guard, was not to be let slip. Accordingly, Veli, collecting 4000 picked men, sent them in haste after Photos and his detachment. Fortunately, the Sooliotes had marched rapidly, and the greatest part of them had passed the frontiers of Parga, when Veli's troops appeared. Photos, who, with a few men, brought up the rear, were still on the territory of the pasha; but there was now no use in attacking him, and the Sooliotes all escaped, with only the loss of a part of their baggage.

The detachment conducted by Botzaris had arrived at Zalongos, and now deemed themselves in safety ; when, one day, they saw the troops of the pasha approaching—for Veli, enraged at missing his destined prey, had instantly ordered his forces off to the attack of the Sooliotes at Zalongos. The chiefs then perceived their error in having put faith in the promises of the vizir, and resolved to show themselves true patriots in death, if not in life. Chance of escape there was none ; the troops of the pasha were on all sides of them ; they were outnumbered by their old men, their women, and children. The Moslems advanced to the charge ; the Sooliotes gallantly met them, and the combat was protracted to the entire length of the day. Night came on, and the conflict ceased. Next morning, it was renewed ; the Sooliotes were fighting with their usual valour, when sixty of their women, aware that all must be finally destroyed, resolved to save at least their honour. They were assembled on a table of rock, one of whose sides rose perpendicularly from a deep rocky valley, through which a mountain-stream rushed, boiling and foaming along. Each was a mother ; each led or carried her child. Their deliberation was short ; seizing their children, they gave them a last kiss, and, with averted faces, flung them into the torrent beneath ;—then, grasping each other by the hand, they placed themselves in a circle as near the edge of the precipice as possible, and commenced an impetuous dance. The first who came to the edge in the whirling motion, flung herself over ; the circle again closed, each revo-

lution diminished the number of the dancers, till at length all had disappeared. All were killed in the fall.

Night closed in, and the Sooliotes still kept their foes at bay. Their food and their cartridges were both exhausted; the night was dark, and they resolved to take advantage of it to attempt escape. Dividing themselves into two parties, and placing the old men, the women, and the children between them, they set forth in silence; the mothers carried their children, and several of the men moved on, the sword in one hand, and a child in the other. They reached the enemies' camp, but found them on their guard; twenty Sooliotes were slain, several more were made prisoners; the rest forced their way, pursued by the Mussulmans. The darkness of the night, and the density of the woods, aided the Sooliotes, and confounded their pursuers. The fugitives separated into small parties, and took different directions; but all availed not to save them; and of from 800 to 900 who left Zalongos led by Botzaris, but 150 reached the territory of Parga. The remainder were slain, or taken and brought to Jannina, whence they were transferred to Boorgareli.

Alinext ordered his troops to Regniassa. Here were only women; and they killed or took these as they pleased. One house only made resistance. It belonged to a Sooliote, who was absent; its only occupants were his wife, Despo, and seven of her daughters and daughters-in-law, and three of their children. Arming themselves with muskets, these brave women kept up a fire on the assailants. At length, Despo,



seeing that success was hopeless, placed a chest of cartridges in the middle of the floor, and seized a lighted torch: "Will you die, or be taken by the Turks?" cried she. "Die!" replied they; and she set fire to the powder.

The Sooliotes at Boorgareli were 1010 in number, and they were commanded by Botzaris, who had joined them after leaving Zalongos. It was therefore rather hazardous to attack them. While the pasha deliberated, Botzaris, mistrusting the strength of this position, led his Sooliotes away to that part of the mountains of Agrapha where the convent of Seltzon lies over the river Aspropotamos, the ancient Achei-ous. Mortified at their escape, Ali sought to gain them into his power by arts and flattery; but finding these unavailing, he flung off the mask, and sent 6000 of his best troops against them. Aware of what was likely to happen, the Sooliotes had laid in a supply of provisions and ammunition, and taken their post on one of the most precipitous parts of the mountain. With the beginning of the year 1804, the pasha's troops arrived; and in April, the Sooliotes still held out. Ali, in a rage, wrote to reproach his officers with cowardice; they renewed their efforts; the Sooliotes were surrounded and cut off from the monastery; fortune turned against them, and their men fell by dozens. The women, who from the top of the monastery viewed the combat, and the fall of their defenders, flew to precipitate themselves into the Aspropotamos. Some reached the edge of the cliffs, and accomplished their desire, the rest were intercepted by a corps of the Turks; they defended them-

selves with sticks, stones, and knives ; many of them were slain, 160 reached the cliffs, and flung themselves and their children into the stream. Of the 1000 Sooliotes who left Boorgareli, only Botzaris himself, 55 men, and one woman, escaped and retired to Parga.

Ali now hastened to take possession of Sooli. His abode there, and his return to Jannina, were signalized by the martyrdom of the unfortunate Sooliotes who had fallen into his hands ; till, wearied with slaughter, he suffered a few families of them to live in some wild remote parts of his territories.

Seventeen hundred Sooliotes, of both sexes, passed over to Corfu, where the Russians assigned them lands. But, after their former active life in the mountains, where they ever moved with arms in their hands, and plundered the surrounding low country, they could not lay themselves down to the quiet, peaceful labours of agriculture. They stole the goats and fowls of the Corfiote nobles ; their wives destroyed the fences of the fields, and carried the wood to the town to sell it, while their husbands employed their time in furbishing their arms and playing on the lyre. Complaints against them were incessant, and the only remedy which the Russians saw, was to form a regiment of them, which they took into their pay. It is remarkable that, brave as the Sooliotes were, their regiment never distinguished itself anywhere that it was employed. It was in a system of irregular warfare that they had been bred, and they could not adapt themselves to the regular movements of civilized war.

## CHAPTER VI.

*Extension of the Power of Ali Pasha—Slight Insurrectionary movement—Thessaly—Ali makes War on Ibrahim of Berat—Relations with Ali cultivated by the British—His attempt on Parga—It is given up to him by the English Government—Reflections thereon.*

ALI now rapidly extended his power: he was already lord of Epirus and Thessaly; he proceeded to make himself master of all Hellas, except Bœotia and Attica, of which his influence had made one of his creatures be appointed voivode, and this officer fixed his seat at Athens. The activity and the barbarity of his lieutenant, Yoosoof Arab, were employed in extending his power over Acarnania and Ætolia; and when, in 1806, war broke out between the Porte and Russia, the influence of the French ambassador at Constantinople aided to have Veli appointed vizir of the Morea, and Mookhtar pasha of Lépanto. Ali resolved to employ his power solely for his own advantage, and instead of sending his troops to combat the Russians on the Danube, he turned his forces against Prevesa, from which he drove the sultan's voivode, and nothing but the prompt succour of the Russians saved Parga from falling into his clutches.

It is not undeserving of attention, that the Greeks at this period showed no inclination to stir. They had, in fact, been very much undeceived with respect to the views and the conduct of Russia. Unacquainted with political

movements, and led, from their peculiar situation, to regard religion as the thing of greatest importance, they were shocked to see the nation who were of common faith with them, and whom tradition held forth as their appointed deliverers, postponing religion to political interests, and entering into alliance with the Porte when Egypt was invaded by the French. Hence, all attempts made at that time to rouse them proved utterly abortive; for they saw but too plainly, that Russia, to attain her own objects, would not hesitate to sacrifice them. A similar feeling actuated them on the present occasion, and though Veli Pasha harassed the Moreotes by his extortions, his tolerance gained him favour in their eyes; for he not merely suffered the old churches to be repaired, but he allowed new ones to be erected, and the Greek clergy enjoyed a degree of influence at his court, far beyond what they had ever before possessed.

Ali had now established close relations with the English, who were at war with the sultan; he had marched his troops down to the sea-coast, and was apparently about to undertake something of importance, when news reached him of an insurrection in Thessaly, and he was obliged to return to Jannina.

Euthymus Blakhavas, captain of the armatoles of the canton of Cachia, in Thessaly, raised, at the head of 1200 men, his standard on Mount Olympus, and proclaimed *Liberty and our Country!* But as no mention was made of the Russians, Ali felt little concerned. His son Mookhtar fell on the villages, and slaughtered the peasants, and Gabriel, archbishop of Larissa, preach-

ed peace and resignation to the people, by command of the vizir. The great majority of the people, therefore, remained quiet, and Blakhavas soon saw himself compelled to transfer his quarters to the isle of Sciathos, whence he infested the Archipelago with his piracy. Two Turkish frigates being sent against him, he was obliged to retire to the chains of Mount Pindus, and parties of both Greek and Mohammedan marauders soon spread terror and destruction over the low country. Ali sent orders to his son to try the effects of bribery and promises, since force did not suffice, and Blakhavas was soon deserted by his confederates. He might have escaped in the islands, it is said, but the pasha menacing the destruction of some of his Christian friends if he did not give himself up, he returned to the continent on receiving an assurance of his life from Mookhtar. He knew well, however, what awaited him. "I am going to die," said he to his friends; "I know the faith of the Turks. Reserve your arms for happier times; fly." He was conducted to Jannina, and there put to death with torture. Blakhavas was the last of the great armatole chiefs of Thessaly.

The Vizir Ali, taking advantage of the feebleness of the Turkish government after the death of the excellent Selim III., in whose dethronement he is accused of having had some hand, went on extending his power over the remainder of Albania; and he had the hardihood to make war on Ibrahim, the vizir of Berat, the father-in-law of his sons Mookhtar and Veli, and never rested till he had shut up that unhappy vizir and his son in the dungeons of Jan-

nina. Ali's pretext to the Porte for attacking Ibrahim was, that the latter was strongly in the French interest. The Sultan at first expressed indignation at this daring act, but did not at that time feel himself in a condition to attempt punishing it, and he actually gave a sanction to it shortly afterwards, by appointing Mookhtar begler-bey of Berat. This was, however, but a part of the crowning of the victim; for the destruction of Ali and his family was secretly resolved on in the divan, and a favourable opportunity only looked for.

The occupation of the Ionian Isles by the French, had made the English direct their attention towards that quarter, and the troops sent from Malta had wrested from the French the isles south of Corfu. The powerful viceroy of Epirus acquired from his situation a good deal of importance, and intimate relations were established between him and the British, who supplied him with cannon, ammunition, Congreve rockets, and money. Whether it was the object of the British Government merely to have in him a useful ally against the French in Corfu,—or whether it was in contemplation to assist him in becoming effectually, though not nominally, independent of the Porte, and of thus counterbalancing the influence obtained by Russia, with whom England was then at enmity, in the provinces north of the Danube,—or whatever might have been the motive, a close connexion was maintained with the Epirotic tyrant. Jannina became the resort of British officers and travellers; and the British public learned, from poems and books of travels, to

view with an eye of complacency the most detestable of despots.

Parga, situated on the continent, and independent of him, was an eye-sore to the vizir of Jannina ; but it was garrisoned by the French, and he despaired of being able to make himself master of it by force. In 1814, when fortune was running against Napoleon, Ali, with the advice and approbation of Khalet-effendi, a favourite of the sultan, attempted to carry it by a *coup de main*. But his troops were repulsed by the valour of a handful of French who defended it ; and Ali, learning that the Parganotes were not his slaves, uttered, with a sigh, *Fate will have it so ! (Kismot ijel gheldi.)* A few days afterwards, he summoned to his presence the French consul, (M. Pouqueville,) and his brother. He affected the greatest consideration for them ; detailed to them the pleasure and the happiness of his early youth ; lamented that those days would never return ; and avowed, that he saw, at *the other end of life*, nothing but uneasiness and misery. The conclusion of his discourse was, that the possession of Parga was essential to his existence. The consul represented to him, that his desire was contrary to his true interests ; that, if once he was master of Epirus, his restless ambition would drive him on to some new enterprise, which would bring on his ruin ; and that, perhaps, the most dreadful calamities of himself and his family would date from the possession of Parga. “ I defy the omen,” said he. “ Let me but build a palace on that rock, and I am consoled for every thing. Each man bears impressed on

his forehead the irrevocable seal of his destiny, and what is written must necessarily come to pass. I will have Parga!"—"Dread being master of Parga."—"I will have Parga!" and he raised his eyes to heaven with a sigh.\*

It was not by the French, however, that the longing of the vizir was to be gratified. After the restoration of the Bourbons, the island of Corfu was given up by France, and the republic of the Seven Islands was placed under the protection (properly called dominion) of England.† Parga, shortly after the attack of Ali on it, had been put by the inhabitants into the hands of the British, on the assurance that it should *share the fate of the Ionian Isles*.‡ General Campbell, who had made this promise, had been succeeded by Sir T. Maitland, under

\* Pouqueville, I. 420, 421. The reality of this conversation rests entirely on the veracity of the narrator.

† The history of the Ionian Islands may be briefly told. At the time of the conquest of the Greek empire by the Venetians and the crusaders, they fell to Venice, under whose dominion they continued till 1797, when, by the peace of Campo Formio, they were surrendered to France. In 1800, the French were driven out of them by the joint strength of the Porte and Russia; the islands were formed into a republic, similar to Ragusa, under the suzerainty of the Porte, and it was recognised by Great Britain. The French afterwards recovered their dominion over them. In 1815, the Ionian Islands were recognised by the allied powers as a free and independent state, under the protection of Great Britain.

‡ Pouqueville, I. 435. For the whole of the transactions relative to Parga, see the work of Lieutenant-Colonel de Bosset, called "Parga and the Ionian Islands;" a work whose statements are, we apprehend, irrefutable.



the title of Lord High Commissioner;\* and the Parganotes, finding that they had been neglected in the treaty of Paris, and that Ali Pasha was urgent in his demand of their town being given up to him, they, on the 25th of December, 1816, addressed a respectful petition to the Lord High Commissioner, praying that he would cover them with the protection of his Britannic Majesty.

Three months elapsed without any answer being returned; and the Parganotes were beginning to consider themselves quite secure, when, on the 24th March, 1817, a letter arrived from the Lord High Commissioner to Lieutenant-Colonel de Bosset, who commanded at Parga, informing him that the cession of that town and its territory to the Ottoman Porte had been concluded and signed by the British minister at Constantinople. It was added, that care had been taken to secure for such of the Parganotes as might wish to emigrate, an equivalent for their houses and property, and that they should be transported to the Ionian states, without any expense to them.

It is to be observed, that Russia, when she had made herself mistress of the Ionian Islands, and the districts of Epirus taken from Venice by France, had formed them into a republic, by a treaty concluded with the Porte the 21st March, 1800. The districts on the mainland,

\* The name of Sir T. Maitland will go down with little credit to posterity. The rudeness and insolence of his manners gave on all occasions additional bitterness to the harsh measures, of which he was the author or the agent.

namely, Prevesa, Vonitza, Parga, and Butrinto, were placed under the sovereignty of the Porte; but it was expressly stipulated, that no Mohammedan should settle in any of them, except a voivode to levy the taxes laid on by the senate of Corfu, and to remit them to the Porte; that this voivode should be approved of by the Ionian senate, and be removable at their desire; that the Turks should build no mosques in any of the four cantons, &c. We have seen above how openly this treaty was trampled on by Ali Pasha, whose avidity Parga alone had as yet escaped.

Had the cession of Parga, by the British government, been only the fulfilment of this treaty, as the Parganotes were at first inclined to think was the case, there would have been no grounds whatever for complaint, and it would have been a natural consequence that Prevesa, Vonitza, and Butrinto, would have been rescued from the tyranny of Ali, and restored to the independence secured to them by treaty. But no such justice or generosity entered into the contemplation of a ministry of which Castlereagh was the moving power; Parga was to be reunited to its fellow-cantons, but it was by being placed under the same unmitigated despotism with them. Grieved and indignant at the treachery, as they justly considered it, of those who had pledged themselves to be their protectors, the Parganotes resolved to abandon their country. Mr Cartwright, the British consul at Patras, accompanied by Mr Parish, proceeded to Janina, to settle with Hamed bey, the Turkish commissioner, the sum to be paid to the emi-

grants for the property which they left behind them. This property was, by the estimation, valued at nearly L.500,000 ; but Ali, inviting Sir T. Maitland to a conference at Prevesa, and complaining of the exorbitance of it, the latter most complaisantly consented to a new valuation of Parga, by other commissioners, by whom it was estimated at L.266,756 ; a wonderful degree of accuracy, no doubt ! This sum was still too large for the avaricious vizir to think of paying ; and at a conference held at Butrinto, the generous Lord High Commissioner, after a third valuation, agreed to reduce it to L.150,000, and a proclamation was issued, ordering the people of Parga to quit Epirus by the 10th May.

Murmur and remonstrance being equally vain, the Parganotes prepared to leave their country, and the tombs of their fathers. Two days before the term assigned, the troops of the impatient vizir were descried on the heights of Mount Pezzovolos ; the Parganotes grasped their arms, and passed an unanimous resolution to kill their wives, and die in avenging them, if the infidels presumed to enter the town before the appointed moment, and the English commander was desired to dispatch a messenger to inform Sir T. Maitland of their resolution. Meantime the Parganotes ascended to the church of the Virgin of Parga, on the Acropolis, to pray for her aid. A voice from the temple cried out that the tombs of their forefathers had not been included in the sale. Immediately they ran to their burial-places, opened the graves, collected the mouldering bodies, and the bones of the dead, formed a pyre, and placed them on it, and

then set fire to the heap containing all that remained of their ancestors and relatives.\*

The messenger sent to Corfu returned as the pyre was flaming; the sight of it, as he knew not the cause, filled him with anxiety. As he landed, the clergy and the chief persons of the place advanced to meet him, and assured him, that they were ready to do as they had said, if the pasha's troops were allowed to enter. He hastened to the Mohammedans, told them of the determination of the Parganotes, and they readily consented to a little delay, sooner than encounter the despair of the people. On the morning of the 10th May the embarkation commenced, and with the fondness which the people of small states always feel for the land of their birth, the exiles bade a mournful adieu to Parga. Some carried away, in little bags, handfuls of the ashes of their sires, gathered from the pyre; others handfuls of the earth of Parga; others shells and pebbles collected on the strand. The morning breeze wafted them away from Parga as the troops of Ali entered it in triumph.

On their arrival in Corfu, the Ionian senate confirmed to them the title of citizens of the Ionic Isles, a rank which they had enjoyed for centuries; and the Lord High Commissioner informed them, that as he had agreed with Ali Pasha to be paid in Spanish instead of Turkish money, that would cause a diminution of the sum which they were to receive; and that, farther, there would be a reduction of one per cent

\* We cannot undertake to vouch for the accuracy of all these details, our authority being M. de Pouqueville.

for the freight of the *Ganymede* frigate, which brought the money to Corfu, and for the cost of the negotiations. The Parganotes felt disposed at first indignantly to reject any indemnity. Their necessities, however, obliged them to accept it the following winter. The one per cent had been remitted to them, they were told, by the generosity of the King of England.

It was thus, that, in compliance with the dictates of a false and narrow policy, 4000 happy and industrious Christian Greeks were forced to abandon their homes, their natal soil, the scenes of their childhood, and the tombs of their fathers, and to see them in the hands of the enemies of their faith, and the oppressors of their race.\* Politicians may scoff at these *imaginary* miseries, and ask, Were not the Parganotes indemnified for their losses?—as if there are not feelings and enjoyments for the deprivation of which money never can compensate. And what right had the British government to sell Parga and her territory? And what but disgrace has been gained by the scandalous transaction? The vain project of strengthening the Porte has been completely frustrated, and the folly of its advisers manifested to the world.

\* M. de Pouqueville, I. 454, gives a Greek poem by Xenocles, called “The Last Song of Parga, (*Ὑστέρεινον ᾠσμα τῆς Πάργας*), which strongly expresses the feelings with which the Parganotes abandoned their country, “O! thunders,” cries the poet—

“O! thunders of the heaven above and of eternal justice,  
Descend and strike Ali Pasha, and the accursed English,  
That tyrants, trembling, may behold how God supreme doth  
punish!”

But it was only of a piece with many of the transactions of the time, when those who had overturned the throne of a despot, followed the path of self interest as openly, and deprived princes and people of their rights and independence as unblushingly, as ever he had done. Political sophistry and falsehood may, as they have already done, seek to gloss over, or defend, this act of the British government; but the general feeling and general voice of mankind, from which there is no appeal, have stamped the transaction with the note of infamy.

## CHAPTER VII.

*State of Greece—Philomuse Society—the Hetairia—Galatis the Hetairist—Prophecies—Murder of Galatis—Progress of the Hetairia—Alexander Hypsilántis—his interview with the Emperor of Russia—he joins the Hetairia.*

WHILE the tyrant of Epirus was thus gradually extending his power by treachery and cruelty,—the usual expedients of despotism,—and had, perhaps, already in idea stretched his delegated sceptre over the entire of Greece, the Hellenes were, unobserved by their stupid oppressors, acquiring the means of conquering their freedom, and learning to aspire after it.

The effects of the French revolution were felt even in Greece, and many of her patriots turned their eyes towards the new republic, as the point from which her regeneration was to

come.\* The insecurity of the Mediterranean, in consequence of the wars in which France was speedily engaged, threw the greater part of the commerce of France and Italy with the ports of Turkey and southern Russia, into the hands of the Greeks; and the enterprising mariners and shipowners of the isles of Hydra, Spetzia, and Ipsara, became the general carriers of the commerce of the Mediterranean, and the Greek sail was seen, for the first time probably since the creation, to be spread beyond the straits of Gades. Commerce brought wealth to the isles and coasts of the Archipelago, and wealth excited the desire of knowledge. Schools and colleges were established at Scio, Smyrna, Cydonia, and other places, under the auspices of the too enlightened Selim III.; and even Ali Pasha favoured the establishment of a school at Jannina, hoping to be able to turn the scientific acquirements of the pupils to his own advantage. Numerous Greek students resorted for instruction to France and Germany, and many translations and original works of the modern Greek language proceeded from the presses of Paris, Leipzig, Vienna, and Venice. The learned Coray, the imprudent and unhappy Rhigas, and many others, both in verse and prose, sought to fan the flame of patriotism in the minds of their countrymen; and as the young Greeks studied in the schools the exploits and fortunes of those whom they regard-

\* Soutzo, p. 8, gives a letter of Bonaparte, in reply to one from the chief of the Maniotes. It is not dated, but it was evidently written during the time of his first command in Italy.

ed as their ancestors, they burned to emulate their deeds, and drive, like them, the Asiatic tyrant-slaves from the sacred soil of Hellas. Their enthusiasm was farther inflamed by the reports of the happiness and security to be enjoyed under just and moderate governments spread among them by their countrymen, who returned after an abode in western Europe; and the flourishing condition of the Ionian Islands, which were under their eyes, testified that the tongue of fame spoke true.

Such was the state of Hellas at the memorable period of the overthrow of the French empire. She had comparative wealth, an extensive marine, skilful and enterprising mariners, and, in the various bands of klephts, a daring soldiery. She was at the same time galled by the tyranny and exactions of her Mussulman oppressors; and the feebleness of the Ottoman power had been demonstrated to her by the victories of the Russians, of Pasvend-ogloo, the rebel pasha of Viddin, and of the Servian, Czer-ni Georges. Greece was therefore full of hope, of courage, and of expectation.

In the year 1814, a society called the Philomuses, composed of Greeks and of eminent foreigners, was formed at Vienna, under the patronage, it is said,\* of the Holy Alliance, at the instance of Count Capo-d'Istrias. The object of this society was to form a fund for educating young Greeks of talent in the best universities of Europe, in order that, on their return to their own country, they might, by oc-

\* Soutzo, p. 12.



occupying professorial chairs in the places of instruction, diffuse the valuable knowledge which they had acquired. A gradual regeneration of Greece, by means of an opening and enlarging of the public mind, was what was contemplated by the benevolent society of the Philomuses, and they looked forward to Hellas becoming free, when her sons should have acquired the character of freemen;—a vain and idle dream of Utopia! and utterly at variance with the history of the world, which says, that there is a period of transition at which the slave is sufficiently enlightened to feel his bonds intolerable, and sufficiently strong to shake them off; but still too little accustomed to self-direction to enter at once into full enjoyment of the blessings of freedom, too little used to her beams to bear their strong effulgence without pain. It was thus that some well-meaning and benevolent opponents of the claims of the Irish Catholics cried, “Emancipate yourselves from your priests, (*i. e.* become Protestants,) and we will most cheerfully give you political emancipation!”—ignorant that what they would place last, must of necessity precede.

As was to be expected, a more bold and energetic association soon sprung from the bosom of that of the benevolent Philomuses. This was the celebrated Hetairía,\* a society whose objects were purely political; who aimed at extinguishing all partial dissensions among the Greeks, and of uniting the whole nation against the common enemy.†

\* Ἡ ἑταιρεία φιλική, *the Friendly Society*.

† The following account of the Hetairia is derived al-

Two Greeks of low rank, named Skoofas and Xanthos, and Dikaïos, an archimandrite, all men of courage and talent, resolved to play, if possible, a distinguished part in the deliverance of their country; and they formed the secret society of the Hetairia. They represented to their proselytes that the society of the Philomuses was only a branch of theirs, and that, consequently, all the distinguished personages who were known to belong to the former were prime movers of the latter. It was also secretly intimated, that its real and superior head was the Emperor of Russia. Each member was bound to devote his talents and his fortune to the good cause, and, on his admission, to contribute towards the national funds. The seal of the society had on it several A's, with a Κ and a Σ in the centre. The first letter was generally taken to stand for Alexander, the second for Capo-d'Istrias, and the last for the Holy Alliance (*Συμμαχία ἱερὰ*.) The agents of the society were spread over the entire Ottoman empire, and the number of its members was rapidly augmented. To give greater effect to the form of reception, it always took place in a chapel, before a picture of the Resurrection; and the priest who officiated made the aspirant swear on his knees the most profound secrecy, and most absolute obedience.

most exclusively from the work of Soutzo, who seems to have had better means of being acquainted with it than any of the other writers on the Greek revolution. The reader will find a minute account of this society, its modes of admission, catechism, &c. from a Greek MS. in Waddington's Visit to Greece.

A form of fraternization called Adelphopœësis (*brother-making*) had long been in use in Greece. It was not, strictly speaking, of a religious nature, since the Greeks and the Mohammedan Albanians were in the habit of uniting themselves in its sacred bands. Arrayed in their best garments, the future brothers presented themselves before the altar of God, exchanged their arms, and clasped the hands of each other; and then, embracing, they repeated these words:—"Thy life is my life, and thy soul is my soul." So strong was the obligation imposed by this ceremony, that a Greek would often leave his family to the care of his Albanian brother, and pass weeks from home, engaged in the labours of agriculture, and, on returning, find no reason to complain of the faith of his friend.

The Hetairists appropriated to themselves this institution; but the nature of their union demanding the exclusion of Mohammedans, they refused to admit them. The Adelphopœësis became the first degree in their order.

Towards the end of 1815, the three heads of the society held a consultation in Constantinople, where it was arranged, that, for fear of discovery, they should not attempt to gain any members to it in the capital; but that they should remain there themselves, and select the ablest agents to send as their missionaries to foreign countries, and intrust them with full powers to act for the good of the common cause. Accordingly, a young man, a native of Ithaca, named Galatis, whose patriotism was most ardent, and his penetration most extraordinary, was selected for the mission to Russia. Unfor-

tunately, as is too frequently the case with a Greek, his discretion did not correspond to his other qualities.

Galatis, wearing the English uniform, landed at Odessa in 1816. He immediately sought out the principal merchants; sounded their dispositions; discovered himself to them, reasoned, wept, and succeeded in making many ardent proselytes. At St Petersburg he proceeded in the same manner, and speedily drew on himself the attention of the police, who arrested him and his two companions, Argyropoulos and Perevos. His papers were seized and examined by General Gorgoli, the chief of the police, and the object of his mission discovered, and communicated to the emperor. An order was, however, instantly issued for their liberation, and twenty ducats each presented to Argyropoulos and Perevos. Galatis went thence to Yassy in Moldavia, where, hearing one day that he was enquired after by the Russian consul, he gave himself up for lost; but on his going to that minister, he was, to his great surprise, presented by him with 5000 francs on the part of the emperor. He forthwith traversed Valachia and Transylvania, endeavouring to gain to the Hetairia every man whom he thought likely to be of use in the great work of liberating Greece. The person of greatest importance whom he associated to the Hetairia, was Athanasius Tsacalof, the son of a rich merchant of Moscow, who entered with the utmost zeal into the plans of the society; and, leaving parents and property, repaired without delay to Constantinople, in order to devote himself to the cause of

his country. Him the heads of the society fixed on as their agent for organizing Greece; and in the beginning of 1817, they directed him to proceed to the Morea.

The Greeks were just now in that state of imperfect knowledge which leads men to put faith in supposed predictions and revelations, more especially when they are in accordance with their hopes and wishes. A monk of Mount Athos had deduced from the Apocalypse a confirmation of a tradition long current, that the Ottoman power would be overturned by a fair-haired race, who would descend from the North, and a book of prophecy, named the Agathangelos, had fixed the event for the commencement of the nineteenth century. It was farther a tradition, that the city of Constantinople, founded by one Constantine, lost by another, would be reconquered by a third, who could be no other than the Russian Grand Duke of that name, whom his grandmother, Catherine II., had had thus named, when she proudly anticipated the conquest of Byzantium. Though more than once most cruelly deceived in their hopes, the Greeks still fondly clung to the idea that the Russian autocrat was their destined deliverer. Accordingly, when Tsacalof gave himself out to be an emissary of that monarch, he was enabled to spread the Hetairia with the greatest rapidity among the primates, the sailors, and the klephts.

Meanwhile, the extreme imprudence of Galatis gave considerable disquietude to the heads of the society, and they came to the barbarous resolution of sacrificing him to what they deemed the public good. They accordingly directed him

to join Tsacalof, to whom they, at the same time, gave secret orders to put him out of the way. Tsacalof shrunk from the task of imbruing his hands in the blood of his friend; but he communicated the order to his disciples, who felt no scruples to obey it. They received their unsuspecting victim with open arms, were lavish of caresses to him, and one day taking him through the country, led him over hill and vale, till they reached a spreading plane-tree, where they sat down to rest; and while the unhappy Galatis, stretched on the grass, was singing a patriotic hymn, one of them discharged a blunderbuss at his back, and he expired, crying, "What have I done?"—words which a friend is said to have afterwards cut on the bark of the plane-tree, beneath which his ashes repose.

After the death of Galatis, a man named Anagnostópoulos became of some importance in the Hetairia, to which he gained Theodore Negrís, the secretary of Charles Callamachis, the hospodar of Moldavia; but quarrelling with two other Hetairists, he retired from action, and his rivals, aided by an old man named Andronicos, spread it at Yassy and through Bessarabia. The three chiefs of the society now deemed it incumbent on them to exert themselves with a little more activity than hitherto. Skoofas set out for Russia, Dikaïos went to join Tsacalof in the Morea: Xanthos remained at Constantinople to gain the princes of the Fanar; but he was timid, and devoted to pleasure, so that the chief part of his duties fell to an active, turbulent priest, named Papa Georges, who haunted the bazaars, the taverns, and every part of the

city, heedless of danger, though the plague was then raging; and, in the short space of two months, he raised the number of the initiated to 15,000, of whom, however, the far greater part were persons of no importance—bakers, boatmen, porters, and such like.

In the following year, 1816, the number of Hetairists was become so great that it was deemed advisable to establish Ephorias, or committees, in all the chief towns of the Ottoman dominions, and every place where there were Greeks residing. Each Ephoria was to have its own separate funds, and full power to act independently; but it was to keep up a constant correspondence with that stationed at Constantinople, from which all the ultimate decisions were to emanate. The members were to be chosen from among the leading merchants and bankers in each place, and they were enjoined to exert all their address to have access to the offices of the Turkish government, and to spy out its movements.

In the course of the year 1818, Ephorias were established in Smyrna, Chios, Samos, Mesolonghi, Calamata, Jannina, Bukharest, Yassy, Trieste, Moscow, Pest, and other towns; and most of the men who afterwards distinguished themselves, such as Mark Botzaris, George of Olympus, Kyriakoolis, Mavromichalis, Criesis, Salvas, Coondooriotis, and a number of prelates and princes of the Fanar, were among the Hetairists.

It was at this period that Alexander Hypsilántis and his brother Nicholas became members of the Hetairia. They were the sons of Con-



stantine Hypsilántis, formerly hospodar of Valachia, who had died at Kiev in 1816. Alexander, who was his eldest son, had entered the Russian service in 1809. He was a major of hussars at the battle of Dresden, where he lost his right hand, and the emperor Alexander shortly afterwards promoted him to the rank of colonel, and made him his aide-de-camp. He and his brother were on their way from Kiev to Kishenoff, when they stopped at the house of their brother-in-law, Constantine Catacazis, the governor of Bessarabia. Gabriel, the brother of their host, a zealous Hetairist, happened to arrive there a few days afterwards, and knowing the patriotism of Nicholas Hypsilántis, he took him apart one night, and began to picture to him, in lively colours, the wretched state of their country. The moon was sitting, calm and bright, in the unclouded sky; all nature lay still and in repose around them; the contrast which they presented to the images evoked by the voice of his companion gave them double vividness, and the young patriot burst into tears. While he was in this mood, Catacazis ventured to reveal to him the secret of the Hetairia. Nicholas instantly declared his readiness to become one of its members, and Catacazis presented him with the *catechism* of the institution. Nicholas essayed in the morning to gain over his brother; but Alexander, after running over the catechism, expressed no inclination to have any thing to do with it.

Some time afterwards, it is said, A. Hypsilántis, meeting some Greeks going to St Petersburg to engage in the service of the emperor,



told them to reserve their arms for the service of their country, adding that Russia was too great to think of them. They replied, that when they were at home in Macedonia, a Russian consul had told them that the emperor was at the head of the Hetairia. Hypsilántis assured them that this was false. They deplored the fate of their country: he said, she would be free when they resolved it. They pictured to him the enthusiasm of the Greeks, and asked him why he did not place himself at the head of the Hetairia? He answered by giving them a copy of a letter from Count Capo d'Istrias to a professor, on the subject of the Hetairists, in which that statesman declared, that they were urging the nation to the brink of a precipice. They declared that it was now too late to recede. Hypsilántis asked where were their finances, their armies, their generals, and if they thought that the resurrection of a nation would be accomplished by miracle? "Friends," said he, in conclusion, "my advice to you, as your countryman, is to reckon on your own resources alone, and to prepare for your defence before you rouse the tiger who is asleep. If at any time you feel yourself in a condition to dispute your natal soil with the tyrants, then think of Hypsilántis. One of my hands fell beneath the walls of Dresden, the other I reserve for my country."

The leading Hetairists perceived, that in consequence of the peace which prevailed throughout Europe, and the freedom of navigation resulting from it, the commerce of the Greeks no longer enjoyed the advantages to which it owed its origin, and that their marine was gradually

decaying ; that the Turks, now grown suspicious, were become inimical to the education of the people, and were beginning to look more closely to them. They were also harassed by the enquiries and complaints of a number of the members of their society, who accused them of turning the public funds to their own use, and pressed them to give an account of what they had done in their capacity of heads of the society. They, therefore, came to a resolution of getting rid of the responsibility, by throwing the weight of it upon some man of importance, whose name would be a security to the nation. They first thought of old Prince Carajas, or of Constantine Moóroosis, or A. Mavrocordátos—but none of these was believed to possess the requisite qualifications. One of the Macedonians, who had held the conversation just mentioned with A. Hypsilántis, pronounced his name ; another voice spoke of Capo d'Istrias, praising his diplomatic powers. The assembly was divided ; Xanthos, who had been hitherto silent, rose, and saying that the nation required statesmen as well as warriors, proposed that Anagnostopoolos and Tsacalof should sail over to Italy, and engage the archbishop Ignatius to try and prevail on his friend Capo d'Istrias to undertake the direction of the Hetairia. "For myself," said Xanthos, "I will go to St Petersburg, and knock at the door of Capo d'Istrias and of Hypsilántis, and to whichever of them opens to me, I will deliver our papers, our accounts, and the title of our chief."

Xanthos, on his arrival at St Petersburg, went straight to the house of Capo d'Istrias ; but that

minister, to whom he had been represented as a man utterly devoid of patriotism, refused to hear him, and ordered him never more to set foot in his house. Repulsed in this quarter, Xanthos applied himself to gain the most intimate friends of Hypsilántis; and when he obtained an interview with him, he did not, while he solicited him to become the chief of the Hetairia, conceal from him its real state, and the insufficiency of its means. Hypsilántis, before he would yield his consent to what was required of him, resolved to sound the disposition of the emperor, who, he knew, was not insensible to the miseries of the Greeks, and regarded their tyrants as barbarians who should be expelled from Europe.

The emperor, about to proceed to Warsaw, and thence to Laybach, was at that time in the country, at his gardens of Tzarski Celo. Hypsilántis proceeded thither, under the pretext of asking for leave of absence. As he was one evening strolling through the garden walks in hopes of finding the emperor alone, he heard his name called; he turned round, and saw the emperor approaching. "What are you doing here?" said he; "you seem melancholy." Hypsilántis, showing him a leaf which he held in his hand, began to repeat the elegy, by M. Arnault, which commences thus—

Pauvre feuille desséchée,  
De ta tige détachée,  
Où vas-tu ?

The tsar asked whose were these verses. Hypsilántis replied that they were a Frenchman's; but were applicable to those unfortunate Greeks,

who were wandering from their country, and dying in a foreign soil. Alexander assured him that he should not die content till he had done something for his poor Greeks, and that he was only waiting for a sign from Heaven for that purpose; but that they must previously qualify themselves for happiness, so that he might be able to say, "See, they call for liberty!"—"Sire, they *do* call for it; I lay their desires at your feet."—"I must think of it; a bullet fired on the Danube would set all Europe on fire." Laying his mouth to the emperor's shoulder, Hypsilántis said, "Ah! if you cast but one glance on my unhappy country."—"Let the bucklers be once raised in Greece, and my Cossacks shall be there to second them."\*

Satisfied of the good intentions of the tsar towards Greece, Hypsilántis decided on accepting the perilous post which was offered to him; but only on the express condition, that the time of the insurrection should be retarded till he had been able to make all the necessary preparations. He then wrote to all the Ephorias, recommending activity, prudence, and patriotism; and he visited in person all the principal towns of Russia, collecting the contributions of the Hetairists to the cause of their country. He set the example of liberality himself, by devoting a sum

\* M. Soutzo says, that a portion of these details is taken from a letter addressed by A. Hypsilántis to the emperor Nicholas, but seven days before his death. The sentimental anecdote, related above, is sufficiently in the character of the emperor Alexander to be true. A. Hypsilántis was a poet himself. M. Soutzo gives a specimen of his Greek verses.

of L.20,000 to that purpose ; his sister, Maria, placed in his hands, for the service of their country, her dower of L.15,000 ; and the Princess Maria Mavrocordatos gave L.2000, and a pair of most valuable ear-rings. Hypsilántis established a regular correspondence with Jacob Rhizos, the secretary of Michael Soutzo, the hospodar of Moldavia ; and he even gained this prince to enter into his views. On an islet of the Danube, near Ismaël, he held a secret conference with the archimandrite Dikaïos, who communicated to him the plan which he had formed of setting fire to the principal quarters of Constantinople, the arsenal, and the magazines of Topchana. It was his design that it should be done by the Greeks of the capital, in the night, and they were to fall upon, and cut to pieces, the Turks, while ten Hydriote brigs kept up a fire on the seraglio, to force the sultan to leave it, and thus to fall into the hands of the insurgents. Hypsilántis approved of the plan ; and after making some alterations in it, with the aid of Soutzo and Rhizos, he dismissed Dikaïos, giving him a letter of credit on the Ephorìa of Constantinople.

Such was the state of affairs in the year 1820. A storm had meantime burst over Epirus, and the old tyrant, Ali Tebelin, was in arms against the sultan.

## CHAPTER VIII.

*Power of Ali Pasha—Ismaël Pashô-bey—Attempts of Ali on the life of Ismaël—Ali declared a Rebel—Measures of Defence adopted by him—Anagnostos—Ali's Great Divan—Pehlevan Pasha—His March through Bœotia—Capture of Parga—Description of Jannina—Destroyed by Ali—Miseries of the Inhabitants—Siege of Ali's Castles.*

AFTER the acquisition of Parga, Ali seemed to have little left to desire, except the permanent establishment of his family. He was now seventy-eight years old, and, in the course of nature, could not have very many years to live; his son, Mookhtar, was begler-bey of Berat, and that prince's eldest son, Hussein, was pasha of Delvino; Salik, the old vizir's third son, governed Lepanto. Veli, who had been deprived of his government of the Morea, was living in retirement; but his son, Mehemet, was Valesi of Paramythia. The power of the family of Tebelin thus extended over all the country from the confines of Macedonia to the gulf of Lepanto. The thirst of vengeance, that strongest passion of the ferocious Ali, caused the downfall of this edifice of power, which it had taken him so many years to erect.

Ismaël Pashô-bey, who was married to a female relative of the pasha, was regarded by him as the chief cause of the want of submission to his will shown by Veli Pasha, to whom Ismaël, it is said, had revealed the horrible secret of the

incest committed by Ali with his innocent and unsuspecting daughter-in-law, Zobeide, the wife of Veli. Having escaped the blows of six assassins sent against him by the old pasha, Ismaël Pashô had sought refuge in Negropont. A fresh attempt of the revengeful Ali obliging him to leave that island, he went to Egypt, performed the pilgrimage to Mecca, thence proceeded to Asia Minor, and finally to Roomelia. In all his wandering, he was traced by the agents of Ali, who, on finding that under a feigned name he had entered the service of Mohammed Dramali, the vizir of Drama in Thrace, procured a firman, addressed to the vizir, directing him to cut off the head of Pashô-bey. Pashô, by good fortune meeting the capijee-bashee who was the bearer of the order, and pretending to him that he was Dramali, succeeded in making his escape; and, under the character of a pilgrim from the Holy Land, he took up his abode in a Servian convent, in Upper Macedonia. Ali accused Dramali to the Porte of having favoured the escape of Pashô-bey. He easily, however, cleared himself, and the innocence of Pashô was at the same time made manifest. As there were no further hopes of obtaining a firman against him, Ali resolved to have once more recourse to assassination; and having ascertained where he was, he dispatched a Christian, named Athanasius Vaya, one of his most devoted agents, to perform the deed. This man, pretending that he had fallen from the favour of Ali, and that there was no security for him but under the dress of the caloyers, sought refuge in the same convent with Pashô. The superior hastened to

inform the latter that a countryman of his was coming to abide in the convent. From the description of him given by the superior, he at once recognised Vaya, and easily guessed with what design he was come. He, therefore, did not hesitate to inform the superior of his real name and character, and with his aid he left the convent, and departed for Constantinople.

In the capital, the manners, and the talents and acquirements, of Ismaël Pashô, speedily gained him friends ; and here he met the Ætolian captain Paleopoolos, who had been for some years living under the protection of France, and was now about to settle in Russian Bessarabia. The Greek communicated to him a memorial presented to the Porte against Ali in 1812, at which time, though circumstances had obliged the sultan to defer his vengeance, he had sworn by the tombs of his ancestors to perform it on the first opportunity. This memorial was now presented anew, and Pashô showed that the clear revenue of Ali so far exceeded his expenditure, and his annual remittance to the Porte, that his treasure must necessarily be immense. This consideration operated strongly on the mind of Sultan Mahmood, and Pashô pledged his head, that, with 20,000 men, he would force his way to Jannina, without firing a shot. The ministers applauded his plans, then hesitated, at length refused to engage in the business, expecting that time would, as usual, bring in the spoils of the old vizir. Paleopoolos was setting out in despair for Bessarabia, when death surprised him ; and he died regretting that he could not appear once more



in arms against his old foe. Pashô deemed it his interest to affect the character of a devotee; and Ali, learning that he frequented the Ulema and the dervishes, thought that he might safely defer his plans of vengeance against him.

Meantime complaints against the vizir of Jannina poured in every day to the seraglio, and Pashô-bey, whom the sultan had made one of his capijee-bashees, took care to call attention to them. The sultan at the same time admitted into the council Abdi-effendi of Larissa, one of the wealthiest men of Thessaly, who had been obliged to fly from the tyranny of Veli Pasha; and these two soon drew to their side Khalet-effendi, formerly the stanch friend of Ali, but whom the avaricious pasha had of late neglected to fee. As Khalet was the friend of Mahmood's head-barber and favourite, his influence was all-powerful.\* Just at this time some assassins fired pistols at Pashô-bey, and wounded him, as he was going

\* As every Ottoman prince is obliged to learn some trade or art, that chosen by the present sultan Mahmood was calligraphy. Charmed with his skill in this art, Mahmood resolved to be the writer of his khat-sherifs himself, and he also kept a private journal. As the papers accumulated on his sofa, he found it necessary to have some one to take charge of them. He fixed upon his barber, whom he had known from his childhood, who shaved with great dexterity, and who, moreover, could neither write nor read, and so was a safe person. The barber's credit rapidly increased; and as in Turkey, where there is no hereditary nobility, or distinction of ranks, *parvenus* do not find it necessary to cut their old acquaintances, Khalet-effendi, who was an old friend of the favourite, soon found that his fortune was made.

to the mosque of St Sophia, on the day that the sultan was to repair thither. The assassins, who were taken, and hung at the gate of the seraglio, confessed that they had been sent by Ali Pasha. The sultan and his minister perceived that there was no security for any one, so long as the vizir of Jannina lived. His destruction was resolved on in the privy council. He was declared *fermanly*, or excommunicate; and a fetwa was issued against him by the mufti, stating, that Ali Tebelin having been declared guilty of high treason, had been several times pardoned; but that now, as a relapse, he was put to the ban of the empire, unless within forty days he appeared to justify himself at "the golden threshold of the gate of felicity of the monarch who is the dispenser of crowns to the princes who reign in the world."

To carry this sentence into effect, it was resolved to fit out a fleet, which might, after the Ramazan, sail round to Epirus with troops on board, especially the Maniotes of Laconia, who, as mountaineers, were the best to oppose to the Albanians of Ali. At the same time, orders were issued to Mohammed Dramali, whose daughter Pashô-bey had lately married, and to Pehlevan Baba, pasha of Roochood, to collect their troops, and to the chiefs of Roomelia to be ready to march with their spahis and timariots, at the first notice, against the Epirote *fermanly*. Moostai, pasha of Scodra, and the valesi of Roomelia, received similar directions. The chief command of the whole army was given to Ismaël Pashô-bey, with the title of Vali of Jannina

and Delvino, under the name of *arpalik*;\* and the name of Ali Tebelin was erased from the list of the vizirs of the empire.

Having been declared *fermanly*, Ali could not put much trust in the Mohammedans; and he naturally, therefore, had recourse to his Christian subjects, whom he sought earnestly to attach to his cause. Equal to himself in dissimulation, they were profuse in declarations of attachment to him; and, versed in all wiles as he was, the crafty old vizir became convinced that he was loved by his *people*, as he had latterly been in the habit of calling them, instead of slaves and rayas. It is even said,† we know not with what truth, that at this time the Morestes were well affected to Veli Pasha, of whose tolerance, when among them, they retained a grateful recollection; that many of their leading men were his partisans; and that the Hydraotes had, in 1808, offered to acknowledge him as prince, if he would declare the independence of the isles of the Archipelago.

Be this as it may, Ali was a rebel against his will, and he cautiously abstained from any act which would compromise him effectually with the Porte. He therefore confined himself, as much as possible, to mere measures of defence, the most judicious of which was that of re-organizing the armatoles, whose mode of warfare was so admirably adapted to the nature of the country, and whose hatred of the Osmanlis was so intense. To their chiefs he committed the

\* That is, a government to be conquered.

† Pouqueville, II., 22.

defence of the most important passes and outposts. Odysseus, son of Andriscos of Prevesa, a young man who had long been one of his pages, and was distinguished, above all his fellows, for speed in the race, and strength in the combat,—the attributes of the heroes of ancient Greece,—was appointed to defend Livadia. Tassos was sent to Thermopylæ. Stoórnaris was directed to take the command of the bands of the Aspro-potamos; Karaískáki and his brother, of those of Ætolia and Mount Agrapha; John Varnikiótis was sent to the Xerómeros; Zongos was at the head of the armatoles of Mount Olympus. They all repaired to their posts; the caravans were soon stopped; the couriers robbed; the payment of taxes suspended. The primates represented in vain, in their complaints to the Porte, that Ali alone could put an end to the system of pillage. This stale device was easily seen through, and they were told to remedy themselves, by engaging the klephts to turn their arms against the rebel Ali, for whom there were now no hopes of pardon.

The government of Thessaly, and the post of Dervenjee-bashee, of which Ali had been deprived, were given to Suleiman Pasha. The secretary of this pasha, a Macedonian, named Anágnostos, and a member of the Hetairia, was resolved to devote all his influence and his talents to the deliverance of his country. As Suleiman was the bearer of a firman, addressed to all the cadis, announcing that Ali had been put to the ban of the empire, the artful Anag-nostos persuaded his master to have it translated into Greek, and circulated throughout the

country. Suleiman assented, and the task was committed to Anagnostos himself. The pasha being utterly ignorant of the Greek language, the secretary took what liberties he pleased with the document ; and he made of it such an appeal to the people, as had surely never issued from the Ottoman chancery. The sultan, in it, calls on his faithful rayas to grasp their arms, and march against the Arnawts, who supported the sacrilegious cause of Ali Tebelin, and avenge their own wrongs, as well as those of the padishah (*emperor*.)

This proclamation was published by all orders of the clergy, and it excited a universal sensation throughout Hellas. The people everywhere armed themselves, and remained in a posture of expectation ; the labours of agriculture, however, were not suspended ; the taxes were paid as usual ; no injury was offered to the Mohammedans.

On learning the state of affairs in Hellas, Ali Pasha fell into perplexity, doubting if he should be able to withstand the storm likely to burst over him. His bolder counsellors represented to him, that the Greeks, though armed, had no leader, and had as yet taken no decided part ; and that if he was boldly to raise the standard of revolt, to proclaim liberty, to give the Greeks to understand that he was not indisposed to embrace their religion, to promise the poorer Turks a share of the properties of the agas, which he had confiscated, he might be able to triumph over all the arts and the forces of the divan.

This counsel was adopted by the old tyrant,

and on the 23d May, 1820, he assembled at Jannina what he called a great divan, composed of the principal members of the two religions. In a long speech, he expatiated on the kindness and favour which he had always manifested towards the Greeks. As he could not deny that he had done them a good deal of evil also, he shifted the blame of all such *peccadilloes* on the orders of the Porte, and on destiny. The Sooliotes and Parganotes he was obliged to attack, he declared, in his own defence, as they were the constant allies of his enemies. He lamented his faults, which he was now endeavouring to repair; he had, he said, many Sooliotes in his employment, and he intended to recall the others, that all united might fight against the Osmanlis. His avarice he excused, from the necessity which he had been under of gratifying the cupidity of the Ottoman ministry, and of collecting treasures to sustain the war which he knew they would one time or other make on him. He then ordered a great quantity of gold to be poured out before them; This, he said, was a part of the treasures which he had torn from Turks, their common enemies, and which he now gave to *them*. He concluded, by calling upon all to join heart and hand to drive the Osmanlis over the Bosphorus, and by announcing an important resolution. to be communicated to them the following day.

The speech and session were ending together in silence, when Prink Leshi, the chief of the Mirdites or Latin Sheeptars, spoke out and said, that neither he nor his men would bear arms against the padishah. His voice was

drowned in the acclamations of the adventurers and captains of robbers, who shouted out, "Long live Ali Pasha! Long live the restorer of liberty!" Next day, the resolution which had been announced appeared. It was an address, in which the vizir remitted the usual taxes, and directed each chief to bring his specified contingent of men to Jannina.

Ali was filled with confidence when he beheld the number of Albanians who crowded to Jannina, enticed by the high pay which he offered, and saw the inactivity of the enemy. He endeavoured to establish an intercourse with Suleiman Pasha, and he succeeded in making him suspicious of Anágnostos, who was obliged to fly, and take refuge at Constantinople, where the war-party soon got up a charge of dilapidations, and of intelligence with the enemy, against the upright and loyal Suleiman, which ended in the displacement and decapitation of that unfortunate pasha. Dramali received orders to repair to Larissa, and Ismaël Pashô to put himself at the head of his army. Anágnostos hastened to Pehlevan Baba, pasha of Bulgaria, who had been directed to lead his troops to Larissa, and the letters of recommendation which he brought induced that rude chief to take him into his service. Pehlevan, who had been first a wrestler, (*Pehlevan, Persian,*) then a robber, and at length a pasha, set forth immediately to take possession of the pashalik of Lepanto, to which he had been appointed. Ruin and devastation tracked the route of this chief and his troops; and on their entrance into Larissa, they committed such excesses as were on the point

of exciting an insurrection, were it not that Mohammed Dramali was hourly expected.

Dramali was met at Philippi by the couriers sent to hasten his arrival. He lost no time in setting out for Larissa, where he was hailed as a deliverer, and he immediately directed Pehlevan Pasha to proceed to Thermopylæ. The submission of Zongos and his men soon rewarded the sentiments of justice announced by the new pasha, and Ali was at once deserted by all the confederates on whom he had reckoned in Macedonia and Thessaly. Dramali took his post at the defile of Gomphi, waiting for the army of Ismaël Pashô-bey.

As Pehlevan Pasha led his Bulgarians through Thessaly, the inhabitants, terrified at their approach, deserted their towns and villages, and took refuge in the mountains. He expressed to Anágnostos his astonishment at the terror which he caused, and the crafty Greek exerted his powers of persuasion to induce him to send himself to endeavour to recall them, and excite them against Ali Tebelin. Pehlevan consented, and the secretary set forth on his mission. The pasha continued his march. The people of the town of Livadia, hearing of his approach, forced Odysseus, who had quartered himself in their town, to leave it, and deputed their archon and the principal inhabitants to wait on the pasha, and signify to him their submission. They also brought him a *Welcome* in money; but this did not save them from farther extortion; the whole of Bœotia was plundered, and the most detestable atrocities committed by him and his barbarians.



Anágnostos was, in the meantime, actively engaged in exciting the hatred of the Greeks against their oppressors. Under the veil of profound secrecy, he communicated to the chiefs the fact of the assemblage of a Russian army on the Pruth, and assured them that the orthodox emperor was determined to drive the Turks over the Bosphorus. A monk called Theodore, by his vehement enthusiastic eloquence, and copious employment of the lofty language of the prophets of Israel, contributed to augment the flame of hope and of religious animosity.

Odysseus made no effectual attempt to impede the march of Pehlevan, and Veli Pasha abandoned Lepanto at his approach, and retired to Jannina, where the old vizir was displaying an energy equal to that of his youth, exercising his men, superintending the repairs of his fortifications, and engaged in the futile project of giving a charter to his subjects. While he was making every effort to attach the Greeks to his cause, the pride and insolence with which the prelates and the armatole captains were now treated by Mohammed Dramali, sent them, breathing vengeance against the Osmanlis, to their mountains.

At length, at the end of July, when the Ramazan was over, the ser-asker, (*commander-in-chief*), Ismaël Pashô-bey, reached the Vardar, (*Axius*), and immediately Moostaï, pasha of Scodra, and the tribes of Upper Albania, appeared in arms, and drove the agents and troops of Ali out of the province of Musasheh. Ali now prepared vigorously for defence; he took his own post at Jannina; he set his sons and grandsons

over his towns and fortresses; and he made Omer Brionis, bey of Avlona, his ser-asker, placing under him a force of 15,000 men. An eruption of the Montenegrins, excited by Ali, recalled Moostaï to the defence of his government, the ser-asker Ismaël was not advancing, and things began to look well for Ali Tebelin.

Ismaël Pashô-bey entered Larissa at the head of a disorderly host of 20,000 men, commanded by six vizirs and ten pashas of two tails. He sent orders to the Roomeli Valesi to advance by the defiles of the Candavian mountains on Berat, and take possession of that town; and to Pehlevan Baba to proceed to co-operate with the fleet in the attack of Prevesa. That savage chief, after pillaging every town and village to which he came, was rejoined at Vonitza by his secretary Anágnostos, bearing rich presents, and addresses full of expressions of most ardent attachment to the sultan, and of vengeance against Ali Tebelin. The former Pehlevan took and kept, the latter he flung into the sea.

Parga, where Mehemet Pasha, the son of Veli, commanded, surrendered, in spite of all his exertions, as soon as the fleet of the capitan-bey (*vice-admiral*) appeared before it, and Mehemet was conducted a prisoner on board of the admiral's ship. Ali, on hearing of the loss of Parga, rent his clothes, and cursed his days. His grief and rage were farther augmented when he heard that the Sooliotes, led by their young hero, Mark, the son of Kitzos Botzaris, were come from Naples, and the Chymariote Sheeptars from the Ionian Isles, and had offered their services to the sultan's officers, against the rebel. The

only reward the Sooliotes asked, was to be allowed to reconquer their mountains,—a request which was readily granted, on the condition of their previously aiding in the conquest of Prevesa. That town, in which Veli Pasha commanded, was invested by land and by sea. Arta was taken by Pehlevan Baba, who directed his march to Jannina; Pashô-bey, having forced the pass of Gompbi, and a part of the troops of Ali having joined him, pushed on also for Jannina. The armatoles of Hellas placed themselves under his command, and he reached, without opposition, the plain in which that city lies.

The town of Jannina stands on the western side of a lake, in a basin surrounded on all sides by lofty mountains. Upon an island towards the northern extremity of the lake, stood seven convents, a Greek village, and a redoubt and magazines, formed there by Ali Pasha. From the town, a peninsula, terminating in two peaks, runs out into the lake; on one of these peaks stood a Turkish mosque, and on the other the seraglio of the vizir, commonly called the Castle of the Lake. A deep fosse separated the peninsula from the town, and it was commanded by a strong castle named Litharitzza, situated towards the southern extremity of the town. The external defences of Jannina consisted merely of a paling, incapable of offering any resistance to an enemy; and Ali's only reliance was on the castles and the island, which places were defended by 250 pieces of cannon.

Ali had long since adopted the resolution of destroying the city of Jannina, and of defending himself in his fortresses, in case of the enemy

penetrating to this last stronghold of his power. As soon, therefore, as the Ottoman army came in sight, the lake was covered with barks, in which the Janninotes conveyed away their families to put them in places of security. But long ere they had all departed, the ruthless tyrant gave permission to his Albanians to commence their work of pillage. Turks and Christians then were plundered indiscriminately; the great church, in which, as in the ancient temples, money, jewels, contracts, bills of exchange, merchandise, &c. were deposited by both Turks and Christians, was broken into and pillaged by this rude soldiery; the harem and the gynaecium were violated alike by them. Jannina was as a town taken by storm. Suddenly the castles of the lake and of Litháritza commenced a furious discharge of bombs and Congreve rockets on the devoted city. Ali himself, from a platform of the castle of the lake, directed the destruction of his capital, and in a few hours Jannina was a pile of smoking ruins.

The unfortunate inhabitants of Jannina, plundered and massacred by the Albanians, cannonaded by the artillery of him who should have been their protector, fell, as they fled, into the hands of those who were coming as their ostensible deliverers. By these they were robbed of their property, their wives, and their children; and those who escaped from them had to encounter the ambuscades laid by the people of the mountainous districts through which they had to pass to reach a place of safety. The roads, the defiles, the sides of the mountains, were filled with the dying and the dead;

the shrieks of agony rent the air ; many, especially the young virgins, concealed themselves in caverns, where they perished by hunger. And all these evils were produced by the crime of one !

The Mohammedan Sheeptars, to whom Ali had given up his subjects to be plundered, instead of remaining to defend him, raising a cry of " Let us return home ! " set out with their booty for Upper Albania, their native country. But they, too, had their enemies to encounter. The mountaineers, eager to possess themselves of the booty with which they were laden, attacked and destroyed them in detail ; ambuscades were laid for them on all sides, and the whole country, to the frontiers of Middle Albania, was filled with the bodies of the Sheeptars, lying scattered on the earth, or hanging from the trees.

Ismaël Pashô-bey led his army to the smoking ruins of Jannina, and having pitched his tent out of the reach of the cannon of the fortresses, he planted before it his horse-tails, having previously read the firman appointing him pasha of Jannina and Delvino. With loud shouts, his soldiers saluted him Vali and Gazi (*victorious*) ; the cadî then read the sentence of excommunication pronounced by the mufti against Ali Tebelin, and directed that henceforth Kara (*Black*) should be prefixed to his name. A marabout (*dervish*) hurled a stone towards the castle, where the rebel lay ; all present repeated the curse on the Black Ali, with cries of " Live the sultan ! So be it ! Amen ! "

But weapons of a different kind were required against a man who was master of three strong

fortresses, well garrisoned and well supplied. His artillery was numerous, and a corps of adventurers, commanded by Carreto, a Neapolitan officer, managed it to the greatest advantage. These men, whom the besiegers were imprudent enough to menace with no quarter, were bound by interest to hold by him to the last; the Guegues and Toshkis also swore fidelity to him; his treasure was almost inexhaustible; his flotilla commanded the lake; the neighbouring peasantry, enticed by the high prices given, risked every danger to bring fresh provisions to the fortresses; the lake yielded abundance of excellent fish. The besiegers, on the other hand, had brought no battering cannon with them; the season was far advanced; provisions would soon begin to fail them; at the approach of winter they would be obliged to go into distant cantonments, and discord could not fail to break out in such a heterogeneous mass as they composed.

The knowledge of the immense treasures which the castles of Black Ali contained, and the hopes of becoming masters of them, kept the Turkish army from disunion, and new troops flocked every day to the camp of Ismaël Pashô. Thirty-six pashas successively traversed and pillaged Thessaly: before the unfortunate inhabitants could respire, Selim, the valesi of Roomelia, collecting the feudatories of Illyria and cis-Axian Macedonia, poured an inundation of barbarians over the hapless plains of Thessaly. A new pasha of Negropont fixed his seat at Livadia, and forced the people to pay a double contribution. No redress could be obtained from Ismaël Pashô;

and the government of Ali, oppressive as it had been, was looked back to with regret. Ali was aware of all this ; he was in secret correspondence with the Hetairists ; he knew of the great insurrection which was meditated ; his partisans in the mountains frequently stopped the couriers sent by the pashas of the Ottoman army to the Porte ; and could he but keep the large garrisons of his castles faithful, he might yet have his fill of vengeance on his enemies.

The old satrap, accordingly, deemed it prudent to get rid of all those who were discontented, and put them in a position where they might be of more real service to him. Odysseus had retired with his men called the *Roes of Ætolia* to Jannina, and Ali had assigned them their post in the castle of the lake. There these free rovers of the mountains felt themselves pent up and ill at ease, and they soon began to talk of deserting. Their commander, who was faithful to Ali, informed him of their sentiments, and was directed by him to encourage them in them, and to ascertain all who were similarly affected. The number was found to amount to 1500 ; and Ali, announcing a sortie, named them all to be of it, in order, as he said, fully to exhibit their devotion to him. He ordered them to be given all the pay that was due to them ; and as he had given Odysseus the means of communication with Ismaël Pashô, all things were likely to go according to his wishes.

At the appointed hour, Odysseus left the castle at the head of his 1500 men. As soon as they came in view of the head-quarters of Ismaël, they raised the white flag, and Odysseus,

putting one knee to the ground, proclaimed Ismaël aloud *Vali* and *Gazi*. The deserters were received in the camp with joyful shouts of *Alaï ! Alaï !* and assigned a quarter to bivouac in. They were promised bread when it was to be had, and money when Ali's castles were taken. But soon the arts of their old master were employed to make them suspected by their new friends ; each day brought them fresh insults and humiliations ; Odysseus secretly left them, and retired to Ithaca ; the Osmanlis augmented their ill-treatment: the armatoles at last left the camp, and taking to the mountains, became, as Ali had anticipated, their bitterest enemies.

## CHAPTER IX.

*Veli and Mookhtar abandon the cause of their Father—Conduct of Mahmood bey—Pehlevan Pasha poisoned—The Ottomans driven from Jannina—The Parganotes are offered permission to return to Parga—They refuse it—Ali opens a communication with the Sooliotes—Repulses the enemy—The Sooliotes conclude a Treaty with him—They take a caravan from Arta—Defeat the Turks at the Five Wells—Ali enters into a Negotiation with the Albanians—His letter to the Sooliotes falls into the hands of Ismaël—Stratagem of Ismaël—Defeat of Ali.*

PREVESA was still defended by Veli, and Mookhtar held the strong place of Argyrocastro. Ismaël deemed it a stroke of policy to gain these two places, by inducing the sons to abandon their father. Veli, accordingly, received a letter from his old friend Ismaël, ac-



accompanied by a firman appointing him pasha of Acre, and directing him to go on board the vice-admiral, after he had given up Prevesa. After some deliberation, he consented, and left Epirus for ever. A letter from Veli, and a firman naming him to the pashalik of Kutahiyeh, in Asia Minor, reached Mookhtar at the same time, and he gave up the castle of Argyrocastro, and proceeded to Salonika, where he was to embark for his new government. On his way, he took with him his brother Salik, who was also appointed to a sanjac in Anatolia,—for the Porte was lavish of its gifts; the victims were to be crowned with flowers, and to proceed voluntarily to the altar. Mookhtar wrote also to his son Mahmood, a boy of nine years of age, who commanded at Tebelin, directing him to give up that town, and to proceed to join him. Mahmood assembled his council: “My father, my uncles, my cousins, have deceived my grandfather; would you have Mahmood-bey do the same?” said he, in a mournful tone. “We will sooner die!” cried the Toshkis warriors; and they tore in a rage the summons which Ismaël Pashô had sent, with the letter of his father.

Ali himself was the first to announce to his soldiers the desertion of his sons, saying, that from this day forth, he had no children and no heirs but the defenders of his cause; and to show the besiegers how little the intelligence affected him, he commenced a cannonade, which lasted till late at night.

The surrender of Prevesa having furnished the besiegers with cannon and mortars, the trenches

were opened before the castle, and scarcely had the balls begun to shake the walls of Litharitzza, when the Turks, mad for plunder, clamoured to be led on to the assault. Ismaël represented the folly of attempting to take, sword in hand, a place filled with cannon, and in which no breach had yet been made, where they would be obliged to advance under a constant fire, without any works to protect them; and the wiser sort coming over to his opinion, the cries and murmurs of the soldiers were repressed. But Pehlevan Baba accused the ser-asker of treachery and cowardice, and of a design to divide the treasures of Ali between himself and Dramali; his quarters became the resort of the discontented; he gave his soldiers all manner of license, and at length went so far as to open a correspondence with Ali Tebelin. Ismaël, by the advice of Anágnostos, had Pehlevan poisoned, pretending that it was the only safe course to pursue with him. The treacherous Greek passed over to the service of the ser-asker, and a sum of £60,000 was sent to the Porte as the treasure of the traitor, with a statement of his crimes and of his death.

To excite discontent among the soldiers of Ali, was the evident policy of Ismaël. Accordingly, he managed dexterously to have reproaches conveyed to the Guegues and the Toshkis of the garrison, of how disgraceful it was for them to suffer their old masters and benefactors, Ibrahim of Berat and his son, still to languish in prison. The Sheeptars menaced; Ali yielded at once, and set his illustrious captives at liberty, only requiring that they should not leave the castle. Encouraged by this success, they de-

manded an augmentation of their pay, and Ali was obliged to raise it to upwards of L.4 a-month, and to increase that of his other troops in proportion. "I never haggle with my family," said he, though each piastre he gave was like a drop of his heart's blood; "my adoptive children shed their blood for me, and gold is nothing compared with what they do for me." He, however, resolved to get rid as soon as possible, of some of the most craving of his children, by making them the *enfants perdus* of a sortie. At the appointed time, the drawbridges fell, the Guegues and Toshkis rushed like lions on the redoubts of the Ottomans, their bodies were soon an ascent for the reserve, the works were carried, disorder was spread among the besiegers, men and generals fled to Jalova, and Ali was once more master of Jannina.

Knowing that his treasures were as likely to be his destruction as his salvation, Ali now resolved to put them, while he had the opportunity, out of the reach of both friends and enemies. Placing, therefore, a certain portion of them in the powder-magazine, ready to be destroyed if he should be reduced to such necessity, he was employed, during several successive nights, in getting chests full of treasure sunk in different parts of the lake, by gipsies, whom he then put to death, that the knowledge of wheré his wealth lay might be confined to his own bosom. Having accomplished this object, he recalled his men to the castle, leaving the enemy at liberty to repossess himself of the town.

By the exertions of the British minister at Constantinople, an order was procured for re-

storing the Parganotes to their country, and the ser-asker wrote to them to say, that the goodness of the sultan allowed them to redeem their property on condition of their paying the royal tithe, the *zygokephalon*, for themselves as well as for their cattle, and all the other taxes paid by the rayas of the glorious sultan; and that those who had not the means of redeeming their property, should pay every year two-thirds of the crop. The Parganotes replied by expressing great respect for the sultan; but they said, that, as they had never been his subjects, they owed him neither tribute nor obedience, and that they claimed their country, free and independent, under the protection of Great Britain. They concluded by thanking Ismaël Pashô, and declaring that they had nothing farther to transact with him relative to a matter which did not depend on him.

The reply of the Parganotes was read in the great divan of the ser-asker, and it was unanimously agreed to discharge all the armatoles of Hellas, and to require in their place, men to work at the trenches about to be opened, as artillery had arrived from Constantinople. The task of communicating this intelligence was committed to the ser-asker, as he was acquainted with the Greek language. Ismaël, accordingly, summoned before him the primates and captains of the Greeks, and telling them that the Sublime Porte would, for the future, dispense with their military services, he directed them to go home to their several districts, and maintain a good police against the robbers, but not to expect any pay; he, moreover, informed the primates, that

they were not to look for any compensation for any losses which might have been sustained ; and he added, that according to the letter of the law of Sulieman I., the sultan did not, and would not, recognise in Hellas any others than agas (*lords*) and rayas taskable and taxable at mercy. He required from them within three months a list of the *infidels* paying *caratch*, in order to increase the tax ; and concluded by assessing the number of men and cattle to be furnished by each village every three months. No indignation was expressed ; the captains still continued at Jannina, hoping to prevail on the ser-asker to employ them, and the cattle and peasants came without delay to the camp.

As the siege of Prevesa was at an end, the Sooliotes, 760 in number, came to head-quarters, and demanded the execution of the promise made, of allowing them to reconquer their country. As there were but 60 men in the castle of Kiapha, they undertook to take it, and then to obey the sultan, according to the terms of the capitulation made with their ancestors. This demand of the Sooliotes was but for mere justice ; but it is probable either the divan, or Ismaël himself, feared to see them again in their fortresses, whence they had so often defied the Ottoman might. He offered them lands near Glychys, where their families then were, or, he said, he would give them Loroox. Nothing, however, would content them but Sooli. The discontent of the Sooliotes was shared by the other Epirotes, who were plundered and oppressed by the imperial troops ; and even the despotism of Ali was now regretted ; provisions began to fail

in the camp ; the bands of Odysseus became active, and harassed the convoys ; the Mohammedans accused the Christians of all their sufferings, and the ser-asker made the Sooliotes leave his camp, assigning them the quarter near the gate of St Nicholas, by the lake.

While the Sooliotes were lying in this position, brooding over the ill treatment which they had experienced, and listening to the voice and lyre of Mark Botzaris, who, in his improvised poetic strains, evermore called on them to imitate the deeds of their gallant sires, they marked with surprise several bombs to fall on their camp without bursting. Moved by curiosity, they examined them, and found in one a roll of paper instead of a fusee, with these words written on it, *Open carefully*. They brought it to the chiefs, and on drawing out the paper, it was found to contain a letter from Ali, telling them that he had sent to call them to his aid when they landed at Glychys, but that destiny had made them range themselves on the side of his enemies. He extolled their valour, though it had been fatal to him ; and hearing that Ismaël had perfidiously refused them the pay due to their services, told them that they would find in one of the bombs an order for 6000 gold sequins. He begged that one of them would come to him in the boat, which he would send to a certain place at seven o'clock at night ; and that, if they understood him, they would light three fires on the side of the fosse near which their quarters were.

The Gerontes (*elders*) of the Sooliotes, having met to consult, decided to accept the offer of Ali,

and a monk undertook the office of envoy to him. The fires were lighted as required, and, at the appointed time and place, the boat appeared. The caloyer got on board, and soon found himself in the presence of the old satrap. Ali received him with great affection, but seemed disappointed that one of the warriors was not come; and placing the monk at his side, he read the letter of recommendation which he brought from the Sooliote chiefs. He then put into his hand a real or pretended intercepted letter from Khalet-effendi to Ismaël Pashô, informing him that a conspiracy of the infidels had been revealed to the Porte, and that it had been resolved to anticipate them, to massacre all the males capable of bearing arms, and to circumcise the children, and rear them up as soldiers, trained in the European manner. The letter then entered into details, and enigmatically pointed out the approaching spring as the season of putting the plan into execution. Ali then desired him to make the following propositions to his countrymen:—

1. That he would restore them Sooli;
2. That he would engage to give them a year's pay in advance;
3. That they should instantly quit the Ottoman army;
4. That they should commence hostilities as soon as they got to their mountains;
5. That they should give him a certain number of the children of the captains of their Pharas as hostages;
6. That he would give them, when the treaty was signed, an order to his commandant at Sooli to deliver up to them all the posts except Kako-Sooli.

Then, giving the monk the letter of Khalet-effendi to show to the Sooliotes, and cloaks and arms to present

to them, he dismissed him, requiring him to return at the same hour two days thence, accompanied by three Sooliote captains empowered to conclude the treaty.

Next day, the enemies, advancing in four columns, made a furious attack on the exterior works of Ali. His advanced posts were driven in, and the foe was advancing rapidly towards the place of arms, which was in the centre of these works. Ali ordered his Guegues and the corps of adventurers to prepare for a sortie, to be headed by himself. He mounted his Arab horse Dervish; Athanasius Vaya bore his musket, of French manufacture, presented by Bonaparte to Jezzer, pasha of Acre, and by Selim III. to the great vizir, Kior Yoossoof, who, when dying, left it to Ali Tebelin. At his saddle-bow hung the musketoon of Charles XII., given to him by Gustavus Adolphus when he touched at Prevesa on his way to the Holy Land; and he girded on him the sabre of Krim Gheri, which Orchan, the descendant of that prince, had bestowed on him when he enjoyed his hospitality at Jannina. He gave the signal; his Guegues and the adventurers rushed on with loud shouts. He took his own post on an eminence; and as he perceived the officers of the enemy, he fired at, and killed or wounded them. The Osmanlis fled, leaving twenty-two chiefs and one hundred and fifty soldiers dead. The loss on the side of Ali was but forty-two men and a captain. He ordered his dead to be interred, and he returned to the Castle of the Lake in triumph.

That very day arrived Baltajee, pasha of Negropont, leading fifteen thousand Asiatics to rein-



force the army of the ser-asker. Livadia had had to deplore the presence of this chief and his devastating bands, who were followed by a crowd of Greek children of both sexes, whom they had dragged away for slaves. The return of the Romeli Valesi, Selim, was also announced, who had been in Thessaly, and now returned, bringing two thousand Greek rayas, coupled like dogs, to work at the trenches and fortifications, twelve hundred beasts of burden, and four hundred Valachian women, laden with corn and other provisions, seized from the people of the plains of Pharsalus and Tricala. The whole Turkish camp resounded with acclamations of joy, and curses of Kara Ali.

The Sooliotes, before they engaged any farther with Ali, resolved to make another attempt at obtaining their just claims from the ser-asker. They had a deed signed by himself, in which he engaged to pay them exactly, and a firman, directing them to be restored their property, and given possession of the domains of their ancestors. In a great divan held at Bonila, they made their application for justice to Ismaël Pashô ; but he haughtily declared, that he could not give up to infidels a country in which the true believers had built mosques. As to their property, he added, showing them a firman, they had fallen to the treasury, and could not be restored. The indignant Sooliotes cried, that the sultan was deceived, that they would reconquer a country held by the troops of a rebel vizir, and that his highness would then see if they were worthy to possess a country recovered by those who only desired the glory of being his most

faithful soldiers. At the mention of the word *soldiers*, Ismaël flew into a rage, called them *ra-yas*, vile kaffirs (*infidels*), told them that to till the ground and obey, was their lot, threatened to take from them, before long, their arms, and drove them from his presence.

On returning to their camp, the Sooliotes, as indignant on their side as the ser-asker, resolved at once to close with the offers of their old foe. Nothi Botzaris and two others were chosen as their deputies to him; the three fires were lighted, the boat appeared, and carried them to the Castle of the Lake. Ali expressed the utmost friendship for them; he asked if they had any observations to make on the proposals which he had sent to them. They began to read them over again, and discuss them; when they came to the one relating to the hostages, they stopped. Ali endeavoured to show the necessity and advantage of it; they required that if they gave him their wives and children, he should give them his grandson Hussein Pasha, the son of Mookhtar, whom, if he chose, they would make their commander. The wily old satrap was forced to consent; and it was agreed, that the exchange of hostages should be made within two days, at the Castle of the Lake, when the Sooliotes should receive 150,000 piastres, and 150 packets of ammunition. Ali then required that they should take advantage of the following night to retire to their mountains. When he spoke of *night*, Botzaris proudly declared that they would leave the imperial camp in the face of the day. Ali at once consented to leave all the arrangements to his own discretion.

Chrysé, the wife of Mark Botzaris, presented herself and her two children as the first hostages; her example was followed by others; they were conveyed by night to the isle of the lake; and Hussein Pasha, who was in his twentieth year, was brought by night also, accompanied by his *coja* or tutor, and such servants as he required, to the camp of the Sooliotes. Nothi Botzaris, placing Hussein, and a sufficient number of men and women laden with provisions and ammunition, in the centre of a division of four hundred palicares, set out that same night, telling Mark Botzaris that he would wait for him at Variades. Mark, who remained in the camp with three hundred and twenty men, made them throw down the palisade, and then ascending Mount Paktoras, waited for the appearance of the dawn. When the sun rose, he ordered the cry of war to be raised, and a general volley to be fired on the advanced post of the Ottomans. He then unfurled the standard of the cross, and slowly retired in the presence of the Turkish army. They did not venture to pursue him, and in the evening he joined his uncle at Variades.

The Sooliotes had sent to inform the commander of the castle of Kiapha of the treaty concluded between them and Ali. As they approached their mountains, they were met by their messenger, bearing the reply of the Sardar (*castellan*), informing them that they were welcome to occupy all the positions of the mountains except the fortress committed to him. They were astonished when, having crossed the Acheron, and reached the mill of Dala, they

beheld a large fortress well defended by cannon in place of the small tower of Kiapha. They advanced, however, and ascended to Sooli, where they encamped, having thrown up some hasty works for their defence; their posts soon occupied the entrance of the defiles, and the Sardar found himself completely blocked up by them.

The men who now returned to Sooli, differed from those who had left it in 1804; they had served in the armies of France, England, and Russia, their ideas had been enlarged by commerce with the world, and their narrow prejudices had given way. They saw plainly that valour alone would not suffice for defence, that there must be union and co-operation, and they resolved to endeavour to form a confederacy of the Christians of Thesprotia. Their efforts were in a great measure successful, and Nothi Botzaris, who was chosen Polimarck, very soon saw himself at the head of 3500 warriors, instead of 900, which he had led from the camp at Jannina. In order to commence operations against the Turks, he dispatched Mark Botzaris with 250 men to take possession of the fortified khan at the Five Wells.

As ammunition was failing in the Turkish camp, Ismaël had sent the selictar (*sword-bearer*) of Mohammed Dramali to Arta and Prevesa, with directions to collect all the powder and ball in these towns, and all the public money, and to bring them to the camp. The selictar having performed his task, formed a caravan of 130 loaded mules, guarded by 250 Spahis, and an equal number of Asiatic soldiers, armed with musquetoons. The approach of this cara-

van having been very pompously announced, the intelligence had reached the ears of Nothi Botzaris, and he directed his nephew to lie in wait for it, previous to attacking the Five Wells; he charged him, moreover, when he should have taken this last place, to fortify himself strongly in it, in order to cut off the communication between Arta and Jannina, and to burn it to the ground if he should find himself unable to maintain it.

The Turks, having left Arta with their convoy, proceeded over the plains of Amphilochia, amusing themselves, according to their usual custom, with galloping and caracoling their horses. When they came to the defile of Koomakhades, they began to shout and fire their guns to scare away any robbers who might happen to be there. The whole caravan and escort were hardly completely engaged in the defile, when they found themselves assailed in front, in rear, and in flank, by Mark Botzaris and his Sooliotes. At this sudden discharge of musketry from all sides, the mule-drivers threw themselves on the ground,—the soldiers, in disorder and consternation, fled, some back to Arta, others on to Jannina. The Sooliotes, quitting their ambush, rushed forth and pursued them. The whole convoy fell into the hands of the victors; the Turks left twenty-five men dead, forty wounded, and five prisoners. The peasants were directed to drive their mules to Sooli; forty bold palicares escorted them, taking with them the prisoners and the heads of the slain. A party sent on by Mark Botzaris, towards the Five Wells, found the khan abandoned by its garrison, and took possession of it.

Nothi Botzaris, accompanied by a train of women and children, came down from the mountain to meet the caravan, for a *pezodrome* (*runner*) sent forward by Mark Botzaris, had informed him of his success. He allowed the peasants to return home with their mules, without ransom, and the women, putting the loading of the mules on their shoulders, carried it up the mountain. Among the prisoners were two beys, two mollas, and a *cadi*: these were in derision sold to gipsies, for an ass and some tobacco—the *cadi*, as he could find no purchaser, was set at liberty; the other prisoners were ransomed by the Turks of Paramythia.

The Osmanlis were filled with rage at the audacity of the Jowers, who had dared to attack and put them to flight, and they burned for vengeance. After a *dooa*, or solemn prayer and fast, held throughout the camp, the Romeli Valesi and Baltajee-pasha were sent with five thousand men against the two hundred Sooliotes who garrisoned the caravanserai of the Five Wells. Intelligence of their intention had been conveyed by Ali to the Sooliotes, and Mark Botzaris, who had been joined by the relics of the troop of Odysseus, and several of the men of Agrapha, proposed to give them a warm reception. He placed two-thirds of his men in ambush, in the lime-stone rocks around the place, with directions not to stir till they saw the entire of the Turkish force engaged, and retired with the remainder of his men into the fortress.

The Five Wells are distant a march of seven hours from Jannina, and the Osmanlis, who

had set out at sunset, hoping to surprise the Sooliotes, reached the caravanserai at the break of day. Immediately with loud cries and shouts they commenced the attack. Some assailed the gates with hatchets, others climbed the walls; the dervishes, with loud cries of *Ya gazi ! Ya she-deed ! (Victory ! martyrdom !)* cast handfuls of dust in the air. In spite of the fire from the garrison some of the assailants had got to the top of the wall, when the ambushed Sooliotes rushed from their concealment, and fell on the Osmanlis. A cry of *Jower gheldi ! (The infidel is come !)* arose, and in confusion the Moslems began to fly. The Sooliotes ran along the side of the mountain, along which the road passes, and rolled down masses of rock on the fugitives. Mark Botzaris sallied forth and hung on their rear, and had he had sufficient men to occupy the pass of Thyriaki in their front, he might have destroyed their whole army. The loss of the Turks, owing to the rapidity of their flight, was but two hundred and eighty men; the quantity of arms and clothes cast away in their retreat was considerable, and it required all the influence of Mark Botzaris to keep the Sooliotes and Agraphiotes from coming to blows in the division of the spoil.

The Osmanlis, on their return to the camp, were greeted by the sarcasms and derision of the Albanians; and that very evening, to augment the chagrin of Ismaël Pashô, a tatar arrived from Constantinople to inform him, that the chief command of the troops in Epirus had been conferred by the Porte on Khoorsheed, vizir of the Morea.



The Porte had sent orders to Khoorsheed to set out early in the spring, and to do his utmost to pacify the insurgents. The capitana-bey, who had great powers of conciliation, was directed to open negotiations with the Sooliotes; but Ismaël Pashô was resolved, if possible, to frustrate him, and even to add to the number of the discontented. He therefore called a council of the pashas who were still in the camp, and gave them his sentiments on the folly of negotiating with the Sooliotes, who would reject all propositions made to them with disdain. "But, leaving others to be taught by experience, it is our duty," said he, "to think of the army." He then took the roll, and showed that there were fifteen thousand men who might be depended on, exclusive of the Albanians. On some surprise being manifested at his exception of these last, he began and went through the various instances of impiety and insubordination which they had shown, and their secret attachment to Kara Ali the rebel. He proposed that the principal chiefs should be required to give hostages for their fidelity. This proposal was agreed to by the council, and communicated to the Albanians, by whom it was received with the utmost rage and consternation. But they dissembled for the time, and only asked some delay, to enable them to bring their wives and children (the required hostages) from the distance at which they were.

While the Albanian chiefs were deliberating what were best to be done to rid themselves of the Ottoman yoke, their old master, Ali, who knew every thing that occurred in the camp,



sent to propose to them to return to his service, and to join in delivering Albania of the Osmanlis; he directed them to send Alexis Nootzas, if they could gain him over, to confer with him on their common affairs, and bade them to beware of Omer Vriones, who had just been appointed pasha of Berat (a thing not yet known in the camp, or by Omer himself); he concluded by offering them money to discharge the arrears of pay due to their men, and by imploring them to be on their guard against the *servant*, as he called Ismaël Pashô. The chiefs shed tears as they read the letter; they embraced, and congratulated each other on having again found their old Tebelin, and resolved to lose no time in sounding Nootzas.

Alexis Nootzas, though a Christian, had been the willing agent of the tyranny and oppression of Ali, but he had afterwards deserted him with the rest. He had long since, however, regretted what he had done, for his pride was galled by the insults, and his life endangered by the menaces, of the haughty and bigoted Osmanlis, and he had been for some time the secret agent of his old master. The Albanian chiefs, therefore, when they addressed themselves to him, found him perfectly acquainted with the whole business, for it was he, in fact, who had informed Ali of their discontent. He agreed at once to be their envoy to the old vizir; but as he could not again return to the camp, he directed Tahir Abas, one of them, to go and announce his defection, in order the better to keep away suspicion from himself.

Ali, on hearing of the arrival of Nootzas,

left his subterraneous retreat, and went out to meet him. He embraced him, called him *his dear son*, *his own blood*, declared before all, whatever may have been his motive, that Mookhtar and Veli were the offspring of the adulterous intercourse of their mother, and persisted in asserting that Nootzas was his issue by a Christian mother. Nootzas, astonished at these assertions, new to his ear, and which he well knew to be false, followed his pretended father into his secret recess, to give him all the information he was possessed of—which amounted to this, that the imperial army contained but thirteen thousand effective men, and that the capitana-bey had already made proposals to the Sooliotes.

This last piece of intelligence was sudden to Ali, who had written to Khoorsheed Pasha justifying himself, and particularly asserting that his conduct towards the Sooliotes had been solely with the design of putting them in a false position, by his retention of the castle of Kiapha. But Khoorsheed, who saw through his artifice, wrote off at once to the capitana-bey to open, without delay, negotiations with the Sooliotes; to represent to them the desperate condition of Ali, and their own state, environed as they were by Mohammedan tribes; to offer them large pay; and to hold out the prospect of their being reinstated in their mountains at the end of the war. The truth of the report of Alexis was soon confirmed by the receipt of a letter from the chiefs of the Sooliotes, in which they informed Ali that the sultan offered them 50 piastres a-month for each man, and a pension of 800 for every wife,

child, or near relative of those who should die fighting under his standard; and promised to recognise them as an independent people, and to put the fortress of Kiapha into their hands. Their palicares, they said, were urgent to have Kiapha given up to them, menacing, if it was refused, to join the Turks at once. For themselves, they declared that they were resolved to adhere to their treaty with him; but that their palicares would be content with nothing short of possession of the castle of Kiapha.

The letter of the Sooliotes was brought on the 20th January, 1821. On the 21st, Ali wrote in reply to the Sooliotes, telling them that he intended, on the morning of the 26th, to attack the camp of Pashô-bey, and inviting them to descend into the valley of Jannina, and occupy a position which he indicated, in order to create a diversion. After this last service, which would put an end to the imperial army, he would most willingly comply with all their wishes.

Unfortunately for Ali, this letter fell into the hands of Ismaël Pashô, who immediately communicated it to Mohammed Dramali, and the two consulted how to make the old fox fall by his own device. It was deemed the best plan to secure at once the attachment of Omer Briones, by investing him with the pashalik which the sultan had conferred on him; and the next day, after a *binish*\* through the army, the ser-asker held a great divan, in which he clad Omer in the pelisse of honour; and the Sheep-tars, saluting him Authentès, (*master*,) ranged

\* *Binish*, a cavalcade or procession.

themselves under the standard of their new pasha. Ismaël, having kept Omer to supper, communicated to him the letter of Ali; and his guest, in the warmth of the zeal produced by the favour conferred upon him by the padishah, was for falling at once on the four Albanian agas who corresponded with the traitor, and cutting their throats. Ismaël applauded his virtuous indignation, but requested him to moderate it for the present; and it was arranged that the suspected agas should be sent to Protopapas, under pretext of quelling an insurrection in the valley of Pogoniani; while Omer Briones, with four thousand of his Sheeptars, should go along the back of Mount Paktoras, as far as the village of Bardoono, and, leaving part of his men there, return towards the camp along the face of the mountain;—so that Ali's sentinels, seeing their white cloaks by the starlight, might take them for the Sooliotes. Orders were issued throughout the camp for all to hold themselves in readiness to march by daybreak against the deserter Alexis Nootzas, who was said to be in arms in the mountains of Kalpaki.

The first rays of light were glimmering on the horizon, when the thunder of the cannon of Litharitza and the Castle of the Lake announced a sortie of the besieged. Of the whole garrison, five thousand in number, Ali left but twelve hundred to guard the fortress. The rest issued forth, led by himself, to assail the besiegers. The greater part were directed to attack the batteries, and to turn them, when taken, against the entrenched camp; the flotilla was to land one hundred and fifty men at the

head of the causeway of Castritza, to intercept the fugitives. Ali himself would push on with some select troops to join the Sooliotes, and attack the imperialists on another side. Ismaël had his men disposed to receive the coming foe; the smoke of the artillery enveloped and concealed all objects; no sound was heard, save the roar of the cannon. Just as the sun was mounting over the eastern range of hills, the smoke was suddenly scattered, and Ali's adventurers and Sheeptars were seen at the foot of the first battery, defended by Ibrahim Aga Stamboul. The first battery was speedily carried; and they advanced to the attack of the second, which was bravely maintained against them by the bim-bashee (*colonel*) of bombardiers, Balshoosa, a renegade from the Balkan.

Ali, who had left the Castle of the Lake preceded by twelve men bearing *mashallahs*,\* and followed by fifteen hundred men, with two pieces of cannon and their caissons, had by sunrise reached the end of what had been the principal street of Jannina. Sending word to his troops to press the second redoubt as vigorously as possible, he pushed on to join the Sooliotes. Arrived at the great plane-tree of his lower garden, he discerned at a little distance what he took to be their encampment. He forthwith sent on to them Kyr Lekos, prince of the Mirdites, (who had remained with him,) and twenty men. Lekos displayed a white flag; one came forth to meet him, giving the appointed pass-word, *Floori*, (*Sequin*,) and he dispatched one of his

\* A kind of portable lights.

men to tell Ali that he might advance. He and his men entered the enclosure, where they were surrounded, and massacred as rapidly "as if Azrael, the angel of death, had cut the thread of their days."

Leaving his cannon at the plane-tree, Ali was advancing. The non-appearance of Lekos and his men caused him some suspicion; and he had sent forward Athanasius Vaya to direct the head of the column to halt, when a sudden fire from the vineyards and bushes told him that he was fallen into an ambush. Omer Pasha, preceded by his horse-tails, falls on his advanced guard; troops appear on all sides; turn where he will, he meets a foe; his last hour, he deems, is come; his only hope is to drag Omer with him to the tomb. He had collected his bravest men around him, to make one final and fatal charge at the pasha, when a sudden thought struck him. He orders the caissons of powder, which were under a wall, to be set fire to. Amidst the smoke and confusion caused by the explosion, calling aloud to his men to follow him, he quits the field, and retires under the cannon of the castle of Litharitzza, where he renews the fight, to keep that portion of the imperial army in occupation.

The troops of Ali had meantime carried the second redoubt, and reached the intrenched camp. The ser-asker and Mohammed Dramali kept them closely engaged, while Omer Briones moved to get in their rear. Ali, who saw, but could not prevent, this manœuvre, or inform his men of it, foamed with rage; time after time he charged the enemy, shouting with all the

vigour of his youth. He is still driven back under the cannon of his castle ; his men are now between two fires ; the fortune of the day is lost ; those who are about him, hurry him away to the Castle of the Lake.

It was now noon, when the troops of Ali perceived that they were surrounded. They divided themselves into two bodies, of which the one resolved to make for the mountains, and join the Sooliotes ; the other to force their way to the Castle of the Lake. The Sheeptars, who composed the former, were pursued by Ismaël and Dramali ; and, after repeated combats, and losing one of their leaders, they scattered over the mountains, and thus escaped towards the heights of Sooli. The adventurers forced their way with the bayonet through the troops of Omer Pasha ; and, placing their wounded on their shoulders, secured themselves under the castle of Litharitzza. A pyramid of 420 heads, for each of which a ducat was paid, piled before the tents of Ismaël Pashô, bore witness to the loss sustained by the troops of Kara Ali. Gipsies were directed to flay and stuff them, that they might be sent to the capital, and exposed before the gate of the seraglio.

Ali, having arranged with the victors about the burial of his men, wrote that very evening to Alexis Nootzas and to Tahir Abas, to inform them of what had happened. He desired them to collect all the troops they could, and to proceed with them towards Sooli ; and at the same time he sent them a letter, addressed to the Sooliotes, in which he entreated of them to break off their negotiations with the capitana-

bey, which were only intended to amuse and deceive them. "Serve my cause," said he, "till the month of March, and the sultan will have so much on his hands, that we shall be able to dictate terms to him. Brave Sooliotes, you will then re-enter on possession of your mountains, and from the heights of Kiapha you will assist at the funeral of the Ottoman empire."

A great explosion, and one which has shaken the Ottoman empire to its base, was at hand. To trace its commencement and progress, we must for a while leave the mountains of Epirus, and cast our view over scenes soon to be signalized by war and calamity.

## CHAPTER X.

*Signs and prodigies—Discontent manifested at Patras—Khoorsheed negotiates with Ali—The Insurrection breaks out in Moldavia—Hypsilantis is disowned by Russia—and deserted by the greater part of his adherents—Insurrection breaks out in the Morea—The Turks abandon Calavrita and Vostitza—Ali gives up Kiapha to the Sooliotes.*

AN ignorant people is always superstitious, and the stronger the powers of their imagination, the more they are subject to this evil. At all periods of their history, the Greeks have viewed the immediate agency of Heaven in the unusual phenomena of the natural world; and in the excited state of their minds at the period of which we write, it was not possible that the land and sea could be awfully agitated, without their commotions being regarded by



them as precursive of equal agitations in the political world.

On the 22d December, 1820, violent shocks of an earthquake were felt in the Morea. The town of Patras, and its neighbouring hamlets, suffered considerable damage. In Elis, springs of boiling water had burst from the earth, and wells and fountains had been completely dried up. In Arcadia, pieces of mountains had sunk, and mephitic lakes appeared in their place. On the 9th January, 1821, the sea retired in the gulf of the Halcyons, in Achæa, and then returned, preceded by a roaring whirlwind, which tore up trees, and cast down the houses. The water rushed out on the land, menacing the country with inundation, when suddenly loud thunder pealed in the air; rain descended in torrents; the sea returned to its bed; the rainbow stretched its arch over Mount Panachœacus; the sun extended his ray; the gentle zephyrs began to breathe; and all nature resumed her repose. The Moreotes beheld in this war and repose of the elements, an emblem of the mode through which they were to arrive at freedom.\*

Once the moral fermentation is begun, it is kept up by a constant accession of new prodigies. The Virgin of Mega Spileon, it was said, had been seen to shed tears. The monks of the convent of St Luke had, at their prayers, heard a voice crying, *Take courage!* The fathers of the Holy Mountain (*Athos*) had seen a luminous cross on its summit, on the very spot where, according to Greek tradition, the tempter had

\* Pouqueville, Soutzo.

placed our Lord, when he showed him the kingdoms of the earth, and their glory. A monk of the convent of St Belisarius, in Thessaly, had risen from his grave, and gone about, knocking at the door of each cell, crying, *To battle!* Pilgrims averred on oath, that as, on their return from the Holy Land, they sailed through the Archipelago, they found themselves for several nights in the midst of ships, whence, every quarter of an hour, arose cries of, *Christ conquers! Christ reigns!* (Χρίστος νικά, Χρίστος βασιλεύει.) So similar to itself is human nature at all periods, that we might fancy ourselves at the time of the first crusade, when signs and wonders were believed to have been sent to rouse the nations to arms in the cause of God.

In this state of the public mind, Khoorsheed pasha, in obedience to the reiterated commands of the sultan, left the Morea, which his military skill and probity might possibly have kept in obedience. The people of Patras, harassed by the vexatious impositions which were laid on them, complained of their primates to Khoorsheed's lieutenant in Tripolitza; but this officer, gained by the primates, sent a commissary to Patras, to seize, and bring to him in irons, the three persons who were designated as the instigators of the complaints. Two of these persons having had timely information, escaped to the mountains; the third was taken in his bed on the night of the 11th February, and thrown into the voivode's gaol. Next morning, the people loudly testified their indignation at this ar-

rest of their advocate, the shops were shut, the people seized their arms, determined to have him released; they made the archbishop, Gérmanos, repair to the voivode, to assure him that if he did not release his prisoner, they would burn his palace, and then proceed in a body to Tripolitza to justify themselves. A Greek was sent to confer with them, but they beat and abused him; the torches were lighted, some shots were fired, when the voivode, terrified, released the prisoner, complimenting them on their valour, but at the same time sending to inform Khoorsheed pasha of their mutinous conduct.

Tranquillity had hardly been restored at Patras, when the Lalaotes, incensed at not getting the farms they were used to hire from the government on the usual terms, broke out into insurrection; but instead of turning their arms against the Turks, they descended from their mountain, fell on, plundered, and massacred the defenceless Christians of the plain of Elis. They menaced the inhabitants of Calávrita and Gastooni; and the lieutenant of Khoorsheed pasha, on being applied to, gave the people of these towns permission to arm themselves, and to repel force by force;—a proof, as it would appear, of no serious apprehension of a rising of the Greeks being entertained at that time. At Patras, the Greeks, with affected cheerfulness, lent their aid in the work of victualling and fortifying the castle, and all conspired to lull the Turks into security.

Koorsheed pasha was now in Thessaly, collecting an army to lead into Epirus against Ali

Tebelin. On hearing of the disturbance at Patras, he sent orders that all the authors of it should be forthwith taken up and sent to Tripolitza; and deeming it a business of no importance, he prepared to cross Mount Pindus. In the beginning of March, he appeared, at the head of 20,000 men, in the valley of Jannina. Ali Tebelin fired a salute of twenty-one cannon for him, and wrote to congratulate him on his arrival. Khoorsheed returned the salute, gave Ali, when speaking of him, the title of vizir, and forbade him to be any longer called Kara Ali. He announced that it was as a peace-maker he was come to Epirus; and the following day he sent Mahmood, pasha of Larissa, to treat with Ali.

A letter, addressed by A. Hypsilantis to the Christians of Epirus, had fallen into the hands of the Turks. In this letter they were advised to aid Ali, but in such a manner only as would be for the benefit of their own cause, without any regard to him. Mahmood showed this letter to Ali, and giving him an account of the state of the empire, and the menacing posture maintained by Russia, besought him, on the part of Khoorsheed, to think of a peace, and to prepare to aid against the enemies of Islam. This confidence produced the very opposite effect to that intended on the mind of Ali; he thought that Khoorsheed would be soon obliged to fly to the defence of the capital, and that then, placing himself at the head of the Mohammedan Sheeptars, the Sooliotes, and the armatoles, he might make himself master of Hellas, and that he might afterwards destroy the two last, and reign without anxiety. He, therefore, wrote to

Khoorsheed, offering such terms as he knew could not be immediately acceded to. These were—1st, To pay down the expenses of the war, and the arrears of his tribute; but, 2dly, Requiring that Pashô-bey, who had been his servant, should be decapitated as being a rebel; 3dly, That, without any renewal of the investiture, he should retain for life the pashalik of Jannina, the coast of Epirus, Acarnania, and its dependencies; and, 4thly, An amnesty for all who had served him. Khoorsheed replied, that he would transmit these terms to the sultan, and that, if Ali desired it, there should be a suspension of hostilities till the return of the courier. The vizir, at the same time, opened negotiations with the Sooliotes.

The very day (March 7) on which Ali sent his proposals to the ser-asker, A. Hypsilantis issued his first proclamation to the inhabitants of Yassy. He had been anxious to delay the explosion as much as possible; but the Hetairists, who, it is said, had got the letter of Khalet-effendi transmitted to the Sooliotes by Ali, urged and pressed him, not by any farther hesitation to be the cause of the massacre of the whole race of the Greeks. It was in vain that he represented to them the feebleness of their means for opposing the forces of the Ottoman empire; that the letter was in all probability a forgery; that he was on the point of obtaining a large indemnity for his property confiscated in the reign of Selim, which money might be employed to advantage in their future operations; and that if the revolution broke out at the present moment, the Holy Alliance would be

apt to confound it with those of Spain and Italy. These reasons were regarded by them as of no avail; they displayed the excited state of Greece and the isles; they showed him letters from the archbishop of Philippopolis and others, offering to raise troops and seize different fortresses;—one from prince Constantine Moorosis, requesting, as a favour, to be allowed to execute the project of the archimandrite Dikaïos;—finally, one from the Hetairia of Constantinople, stating that the Greek population of that city were in such a state of ferment, and conducted themselves so imprudently, that they were already beginning to draw on them the attention of the Ottoman police. On hearing this last letter read, “The die is cast!” cried he; “perish the coward who, seeing his brethren just under the hand of the executioner, would lose time in calculation, and not fly to their aid!”\*

He immediately dispatched Xanthos with L.2000 to George† the Olympian, Pharmakis, and Savas; he sent by Perevos to the Morea L.3300 for Mavromichalis and Colocotronis, directing them to raise troops, and he prepared against the approaching spring. He desired his brother Demetrius to hasten to Greece, while himself and his other brothers would remain in the northern provinces to engage the attention of the Ottomans, and give the Greeks time to prepare. From Kishenoff he sent orders to

\* Soutzo.—This writer says, that all which he relates respecting A. Hyspíantis, has been derived from his own correspondence, and from the MSS. of several Hetairists.

† Commonly called Georgaki.

Theodore Vladimirescos, a Russo-Valachian officer, to take advantage of the death of the hospodar, Alexander Soutzo, to raise the Pandoors or Valachian militia. He sent George Lassar and Gerasimos Orfanos to Moldavia, with orders to collect all the soldiers, the arms, and the ammunition they could into his palace of Galata, which was situated on the hill commanding Yassy.

On the 6th March, A. Hypsilantis secretly left Kishenoff in the night, and set out for Yassy, accompanied by his brother Nicholas, and a few others. Next day he crossed the Pruth, on the ice, and was met at a solitary house by Orfanos and about thirty Hetairists. Taking with him ten or a dozen soldiers, he proceeded in his sledge towards Yassy, which he reached in the evening. He alighted at the palace of Cantacuzena, where John Colocotronis, and a crowd of Hetairists, eagerly surrounded him. "I am come to die with you," said he, as he embraced them. He went to the house of Jacob Rhizos, where he had an interview with the hospodar, Michael Soutzo, whom he exhorted to act with courage, and to force the boyards, on the morrow, to petition for the protection of Russia.

Few knew of the arrival of Hypsilantis, or of his object, and during that night Yassy remained in perfect tranquillity; but at break of day, proclamations were seen posted in all the streets, calling upon the Greeks to rise against their tyrants, describing Servia and Epirus as already in arms, a *formidable power* ready to protect their rights, and all Europe, with eyes fixed on them, grateful for the benefits of which

Greece had been the dispenser, wishing them success, and ready to aid them, if they showed themselves worthy of their ancestors, and of the age in which they lived. This proclamation contained the usual quantity of inflation and imprudence common to such revolutionary documents; but one thing seemed certain, namely, that Russia was ready to march against the Ottomans. The young men ran in crowds to enrol themselves under the banners of Hypsilantis, and the hospodar sent him men, horses, arms, and placed all his authority in his hands. Sixty Mohammedans, who had taken refuge in a church, were besieged in it by the people in the first transports of their zeal; they sued for and obtained permission to depart; but, with ordinary Turkish breach of faith, they assassinated Boocovallos, the officer who was sent to escort them, and they were speedily punished for their crime.\*

That very evening Hypsilantis wrote to the emperor Alexander, who was then at Laybach, informing him of his entrance into Yassy, of his ulterior projects, and imploring him to aid the Greek cause. The emperor immediately shut himself up with one of his ministers, to consult on this momentous affair. The Austrian cabinet was alarmed; a correspondence between Hypsilantis and the liberals of Paris was fabricated and shown to Alexander, who was thereby induced to disavow the enterprise, "as the effects of the exaltation characteristic of the pre-

\* Soutzo, p. 60.—Others say, with perhaps more truth, that the Turks were massacred in cold blood by a Captain Caravia.



sent time, as well as of the levity and inexperience of that young man."\*

Hypsilantis, having restored his power to the hospodar, Michael Soutzo, and left with him a guard of Hetairists, proceeded to Foxani, where a number of young men were waiting to place themselves under his command. He formed them into a corps, to which, in imitation of the ancient Thebans, he gave the name of the Sacred Battalion. The colours worn by them were red, white, and black; their dress was black; on the front of their caps they wore a death's head and crossed bones. The phoenix rising from her ashes was their emblem. Attended by only five hundred men, ill clothed and ill armed, Hypsilantis hastened to Valachia, to take the command of the army of Vladimirescos, consisting of eight thousand Valachians, and of three thousand Albanians, Servians, and Bulgarians, commanded by Savas and George the Olympian. On his arrival, this inconsiderate young man found all in confusion; the boyards had fled; the soldiers were given every license; all were filled with apprehension; Savas and Theodore at variance with each other, and each thinking only of his own interest. Hypsilantis, uncertain how to act, fixed his head-quarters first at Ploesti, and then at Colentina, within half a league of Bucharest.

\* In his letter to the emperor Nicholas, Hypsilantis says, "Such, sire, were my plots, and the intrigue of which the Austrian diplomacy made at the time, in the Congress of Laybach, a tissue of horrors and crimes; and when the emperor refused to believe them, the same diplomacy had the singular hardihood to show him a false and fictitious correspondence between me and the liberals of Paris."

The profligate courtiers of the late hospodar crowded around the young chief; they turned his brain with their flatteries, they kept all honest men at a distance from him, they dragged from him all sorts of places and employments; the spendthrift was made treasurer, an old physician a captain, the mere monied man an aide-de-camp; every one seemed anxious to obtain the post which he was least fit for, ready to abandon it at the first approach of danger.

Like a stroke of thunder came the determination of the emperor of Russia, which was made public by the Austrian consulate at Bucharest. All hopes now fled; those who had been most assiduous in their court to Hypsilantis, were now the first to leave him. His friend, Michael Soutzo, was waited on at Yassy by the boyards, with Benjamin, their metropolitan, at their head, and invited to retire; and on the night of the 11th April, he and his family set out for Bessarabia. Like Hypsilantis, Soutzo was a well-intentioned, inexperienced young man; like him, too, he afterwards became the victim of Austrian tyranny, having been seized as he was on his way to Italy, and confined at Goritz, in Carinthia.

The unfortunate Hypsilantis seems to have been cruelly deceived in the expectations which he was led to form. He had embarked in the enterprise in confident reliance on the open support of Russia; and such, perhaps, was the sincere intention of Alexander, till he was deceived or neutralized by Austria, the determined foe of liberty in all parts of the world. The Hetairists, taking perhaps their wishes for realities,

had assured him that Servia and Bulgaria were ready to rise in arms, and that the fortresses of the Danube would surrender at his approach; that the flame of insurrection would burst forth at once over the whole of European Turkey. But the disavowal of him by the Russian autocrat was as a spell to dissolve all these illusions, and Hypsilantis soon perceived that he was lost. Servia, at the voice of Austria, remained tranquil; the Bishop of Philippopolis was anticipated and massacred by the Turks; the police found out and counteracted the plot of Dikaïos; his army was a heterogeneous rabble, without discipline or subordination; Savas and Vladimirescos, thinking only of their own interest, were ready to desert and betray him; and he laboured in vain to persuade the latter that the cause of the Greeks and that of the Valachians were the same.

In his present state of uncertainty, he at one time meditated to cross the Danube, and endeavour to make his way through the mountains to Epirus, and join the Greeks who were there in arms. The impracticability of this project forced him to abandon it, and to wait his fate in Valachia. He removed his headquarters to Tergovist, twenty-four leagues north of Bucharest, where he surrounded his camp with a palisade, and endeavoured to give some discipline to his troops; he ordered his brother Nicholas to take the command of the strong natural defences of Kimpoloonghi, and he sent Cantacuzena to place himself at the head of the insurgents in Moldavia.

The first intelligence of the insurrection in the

trans-Danubian provinces had terrified the Porte, who naturally apprehended that it was the work of Russia ; but, reassured by the declaration published by that power, the Ottoman ministry resolved on vigorous and immediate measures. Directions were sent to the pasha of Silistria to cross without delay the Danube, with 8000 or 10,000 men ; to the pasha of Vidin to enter Little Valachia ; and to the pasha of Ibraïla to march into Moldavia. Early in May these armies, 30,000 strong, put themselves in motion.

Meantime, the insurrection had broken out in the Morea, and numerous executions had taken place at Constantinople.

The order sent to Patras by the kaïmakan of Khoorsheed-pasha, was immediately followed by another *boyoordi*, or order, to the following effect :—

“ We, kaïmakan of the mighty Moreh Valesi Khoorsheed-pasha, (to whom God grant prosperity and a happy end !) by the advice of our great council, order you, archbishops, bishops, coja-bashees, and notables, Rhomæans of the towns and villages of the Morea, to arise, on receiving the noble firman which we address to you, and to transfer yourselves immediately to our residence at Tripolitza, to enjoy there the incomparable happiness of the protection which we will grant you, and the contemplation of our magnificent power. We enjoin the rayas who live beneath the shadow of the golden wings of our glorious monarch, instantly to lay down their arms, to give up those which they possess to our voivodes, without raising their heads, which they are permitted to keep

this year, on paying a double kharatch, and not giving ear to the seditious discourses of the enemies of our holy religion, and of the glorious Khan, son of Khan Sultan Mahmood. Let this be performed without delay.—Feb. 12, (25,) 1821.”

This order of the kaïmakan was in accordance with a resolution adopted by the divan, of disarming the Greek population, whose disaffection they had learned, and whose numbers they feared. The entire population of the Morea was estimated at 400,000 souls, of which not more than a fifth were Turkish, so that there were abundant grounds for apprehension at this particular period. Similar orders were sent all through the Morea, and the bishops of Corinth, Arcadia, Malvasia, and the son of the bey of Mani, and several of the primates of Corinth, Patras, Caritena, and other places, repaired to Tripolitza, which but three of them were destined ever to leave.

Germanos, archbishop of Patras, an adroit, eloquent, and politic prelate, left his see at night, in the beginning of March, accompanied by the primates, to proceed to Tripolitza, whither they were summoned. It is probable that the plan of insurrection had been already concerted, and that the subsequent conduct of Germanos was no sudden inspiration ; for the Patreans were so solicitous to supply themselves with powder and ball, that in the course of a few days there remained none on sale in the bazars. Colocotronis, and a number of exiles from the Ionian Isles, had already appeared in arms ; and the Turks had retired with their families and their

effects to the citadel. Many of the more timid of the Greeks quitted the place; others hastened to place their goods in safety, judging that it was the design of the Turks to destroy the town.

On arriving at Calavrita, of which the population was principally Christian, Germanos assembled the primates, and assured them that it would be manifest self-destruction for them to go on to Tripolitza. He gave it as his opinion that they should stop short, and write to Constantinople, to give a colour to their refusal, and to gain time. It was decided to write to the prelates, clergy, and primates of the other towns, to be on their guard, and to prepare themselves for coming events. The archbishop then set out for the convent of Mega Spileon, whence, after passing there but one night, he proceeded to a convent of Laurian monks, on Mount Erymanthus. He was here immediately surrounded by 1500 armed peasants of Mount Cyllene, whom, as is said, the primates of Calavrita had enrolled two months before, to defend them against the robberies of the Lalaotes. Germanos begged of their captains to place them in ambush in the wood about the convent, and he told them that the Turks of Calavrita, having vainly chased the Christian inhabitants of that town, who had taken refuge in the mountains, would, before sunset, arrive at the convent in quest of him, but that if they rose with the cry of "Victory of God!" the infidels would take to flight.

This prophecy was accomplished. In the evening, sixty men on horseback came within sight of the convent on which Germanos had reared the standard of the cross: the Christians showed

themselves: the cry of *Victory of God!* rang through the mountains, and the Turks at once turned and fled. Arrived at Calavrita, they quitted it again in the night, and at the break of day went to Vostitza, the ancient *Ægium*. All was silent and deserted; at length the sight of smoke rising from some of the houses made them suspect that their brethren were concealed in their dwellings for fear of the Greeks. To reassure them, one ascended the minaret of a mosque, and gave the *ezzan*, or call to prayer. Immediately the Turks left their retreats and came forth. The Greeks, they said, had left the town and retired to the hills, whence they had expected them every moment to descend to destroy them. Sixty of them mounted their horses, and, with those of Calavrita, rode to the port, where they seized some boats, and made sail for *Lépanto*. The Greeks, who saw them depart, came down from the mountains, and took possession of both Calavrita and Vostitza; they imprisoned the *cadi*, the *voivode*, and from two to three hundred Turks whom they found in the former, which they strengthened and made a place of retreat; the latter, whose situation exposed it to the march of the Turkish armies, they abandoned, its inhabitants retiring to Calavrita.

Germanos, who was speedily informed of all that had occurred, assembled the consistory, which he had summoned, and in a long speech laid before them the state of things, and the position in which they were now placed. He assured them of the justice of their cause; but at the same time impressed on them the conviction that it was idle for them to hope for assistance from



any of the European powers, and that, under heaven, it was to their own valour that they must look for salvation: that, finally, *Death or Victory* must now be the word, for that with the Turk they could no more have concord. On the following day he collected the people, to the number of 5000, on an eminence, where, having ascertained that they had confessed their sins to the fathers of the different monasteries, he pronounced a general absolution, and then celebrated the holy sacrament on an altar of turf. When this important ceremony was over, he sent round the deacons, to inform the people that he released them from the obligation of keeping the Lent. He gave himself the first example of breaking the fast, saying, that as both their lives and religion were at stake, they must take the food necessary to give them strength to defend them.

While the insurrection was thus commencing in the Morea, the Turks had thrown away all prospects of tranquillizing Epirus. The Sooliote deputies who had gone to Prevesa, left it on the 26th March, without effecting any thing. The terms offered having been, that, instead of possessing *autonomy*, they should be pardoned, and, like the islanders of the White Sea, be considered as rayas of the Sultan, depending on the capitan-pasha; and that if within four days they did not send twenty hostages, hostilities should be renewed. The reply given to Ali Pasha was, to lay down his arms, and to repair within twenty-four hours to the door of the tent of Khoorsheed-pasha, who engaged (merely his word) to send him honourably to Constantinople,



where he would be admitted to justify himself before the resplendent majesty of the glorious Sultan. The old satrap, who knew well what the usual effect of the Sultan's refulgence on rebellious pashas was, replied by volleys of cannon. He wrote immediately to the Sooliotes, giving them up Kiapha, and making them a present of all the provisions and stores contained in it; and the thunders of the artillery of Kiapha speedily announced to Thesprotia, that the warriors of Sooli were once more masters of the home of their fathers.\*

## CHAPTER XI.

*Affairs at Patras—Approach of Germanos—he retires—Spread of the Insurrection—Rising in Livadia—Disturbances at Constantinople—Execution of Moroosis—of the Patriarch Gregory—Affairs in Valachia—Death of Vladimirescos—Defeat of Hypsilantis at Nootgesti—Battle of Dragatsan—Bravery of Athanasius the Ætolian—A. Hypsilantis crosses the frontier, and is thrown into prison in Hungary—Death of George the Olympian.*

ON the 4th of April, the Turks of Patras, finding the insurrection exploding everywhere around them, deemed it prudent to retire, with their families, into the citadel. They previously set fire to the house of one of the primates, named Papa-Diamantópoulos: the conflagration rapidly extended; a large number of the inha-

\* Pouqueville. The letter of Ali bears date March 20, O. S.

bitants took refuge in the consulate of France, others fled out of the town, on which the Turks kept up a constant fire from the castle. The following day the flames still continued to spread, and the fire from the castle was continued, a constant discharge of musketry being kept up at the same time by the Greeks. Most of the European consuls judged it advisable to seek safety on board of the vessels in the roads, as the conflagration was spreading more and more, the Greeks having in retaliation set fire to the quarter of the Turks.

On the 6th, parties of the Greek peasantry came in from the country, shouting *Death to the Turks!* The standard of the cross was raised on the mosques above the crescent; and all the Turkish children which had been taken by these fanatics, were baptized by the priests. The aqueducts which supplied the town were broken. The conflagration, which had been decreasing, was revived; the approach of Germanos was announced; and the primates of Vostitza, preceded by five Turkish heads, appeared as his harbingers.

Germanos was in fact on his march for Patras, at the head of 10,000 peasants, collected in the mountains. None of these were completely armed. As is usual in sudden insurrections of the kind, their arms were of various sorts and qualities. Some had fowlingpieces, others daggers on the end of poles, stakes pointed and hardened in the fire, sickles, scythes, pitchforks, and other rustic implements. At a little distance from the town, Germanos made them halt to take food and repose; and, divided into par-

ties according to their villages, they made a frugal repast on bread and onions. The politic prelate, the second Mattathias, as he has been styled, whose great object it was to make the war one of religion, then put on his pontifical vestments, entered a solitary chapel, prostrated himself before the altar, and made a confession of his own and the people's sins, praying to the Almighty to put away discord from among them. Having performed this imposing office, he pronounced the absolution of the people, who lay prostrate before the cross. The doxology of the *Trisagion* was loudly chanted by the monks of Mega Spileon, and repeated by the multitude. The fires were lighted, and sentinels set.

Early the next morning Germanos put his bands in motion, and they entered the town, where they were received with loud acclamations by their compatriots. The archbishop immediately published the following proclamation: "*Peace to the Christians—protection to the consuls of foreign powers—war to the Turks!*" This was succeeded by a manifesto,\* addressed to the

\* It was to this effect :—

" March 26, (O. S.) 1821.

" The Hellenes, given up to the daily increasing oppression of the Ottomans, have unanimously resolved to conquer or to die. We have risen to recover our rights. We are convinced that the Christian powers will recognise the justice of our cause, and that they will lend us their aid, recollecting the services done to humanity by our ancestors. We, therefore, beseech you to procure us the benevolent protection of your august monarchs.

" Germanos, archbishop of Patras ; Procopius, bishop of Calavrita ; Andrew Zaïnis ; Andrew Londres ; Benisellos Koophos, Papa-Diamantopoolos ; Sotiraki."

consuls, and subscribed by the archbishop and the principal primates who were with him, announcing their resolution to regain their liberties, or die in the attempt. The Greeks immediately began to change their ordinary raya costume for the Russian dress; caps, blue and white colours, and cockades, were exhibited; the flames which were subsiding were renewed; the Turks recommenced the firing from the castle; all again was tumult and confusion, and the various oil stores having been set fire to by the Greeks, the flames soon rose with tenfold violence; while plunder and devastation were going on on all sides.

Germanos had hoped that the Turks of Patras would, like those of Calavrita and Vostitza, have fled at the approach of his disorderly bands. Disappointed in this expectation, he and his council of primates spread all kinds of rumours of revolts in Thessaly and elsewhere, and of troops coming to their aid, to keep up the zeal and the courage of their men. But, in the meantime, Yoosoof-pasha, who had left the army of Khoorsheed, to take possession of the pashalic of Negropont, to which he had been appointed, hearing of the insurrection at Patras, had halted at Mesolonghi. He had then advanced to the Little Dardanelles of Lépanto, had crossed over, and was now waiting in the Castle of the Morea.

The archbishop, on hearing of the approach of Yoosoof-pasha, ordered the batteries of small iron cannon, which he had constructed, to be opened to play on the castle. But the calibre of his artillery was not such as to make it of

any avail ; and even had a breach been effected, the Greeks had not yet the courage to mount it. Their mode of fighting was to conceal themselves behind pieces of walls and trees, and to run out of shot to re-load their pieces. On the 15th, at three o'clock in the morning, Patras felt another shock of an earthquake, and two hours afterwards, Yoosoof-pasha and three hundred men entered the castle.

Fame having greatly augmented the number of the troops of Yoosoof-pasha, and a Turkish brig of war having anchored off Patras, Germanos and the primates took to flight, followed by all their men. The unfortunate Patreans fled to the shore, where there were forty-two small vessels at anchor, and crowded on board of them. The consuls of France, Austria, and Spain, afforded an asylum in their houses to a number of families who could not fly. The Turks issued next morning from the castle, massacred all the Greeks whom they met, and set fire to such parts of the town as had been as yet uninjured. In a few days, most of the inhabitants had been conveyed away by the humanity of the above-mentioned consuls ; and as the Turks had learned that circumstances had occurred which might prevent them speedily receiving succours, and the fires on Mount Panachæicos told them that Germanos and his army were there ready to fall on them when an opportunity should offer, they began to conduct themselves with some moderation.

By this time, the insurrection was not confined to Achæa. The Maniotes, on hearing of the events at Calavrita and Vostitza, had flown

to arms, and massacred the Turks who dwelt in the villages of the valley of the Eurotas. A heroine, named Constantia Zacharias,\* whose father had been impaled as a robber at Tripolitza in 1799, hoisted a flag on her house, and proclaimed revolt to the peasants. The bishop of Helas hastened to join her, and give his blessing to her enterprise. Having driven the Turks into the castle of Mistrá, she led her men up the Eurotas as far as Londári, where she killed the voivode, and burnt his house. The flames spread into Messenia; Peter Mavromicháli came down from the steeps of Taygetus with his Eleathero-Lacones, and occupied Calamata, where a senate assembled under his presidency, and issued, on the 9th April, a manifesto, addressed to the powers of Christendom, setting forth the justice of the Greek cause, and calling on them for aid. The effect of this manifesto was prodigious; the priests went about everywhere exciting the people to arms, and their call was everywhere obeyed with alacrity. The universality of the insurrection electrified the Turks; they hardly anywhere ventured on resistance, but hastened to seek refuge in the fortified places.†

Livadia also was now in revolt. The kiaya of the pasha of Eubœa, left there to levy the heavy tax imposed on the Christian inhabitants, had held their primates now a month in prison.

\* Pouqueville, ii. p. 351.

† There are nine fortresses in the Morea. Patras, Morea, and Corinth, in the north; Napoli di Romania and Malvasia in the east; Modon and Coron on the south; Navarino on the west; Tripolitza in the centre.

Diakos, the proto-palicare of Odysseus, collected 300 men in the mountains of Doris, determined to take vengeance on the oppressors. The kiaya immediately sent his brother off with his treasure to Eubœa, issued the order for the disarming of the Christians, and set a price on the head of Diakos. Little heeding the menaces of the kiaya, the brave palicare descended from his mountains, laid an ambush near Thebes, and soon conveyed the kiaya's brother, and all his baggage, into the woods of Parnassus. The kiaya menaced the captive primates with death if his brother was not set at liberty; they wrote to inform Diakos of their situation, who agreed to exchange his Turkish prisoner against them, which exchange was effected in the ancient Daulis.

The kiaya hastened to quit Livadia, in which he did not consider himself any longer safe, and secure himself in Negropont. Diakos, who had heard of his having put some Christians to death before his departure, lay in wait for him at the bridge of the Permessus, and cut him, his brother, and 130 Turkish horsemen, to pieces. The primates then collected upwards of 6000 peasants, informed them of the rising in the Morea, and having exalted their enthusiasm, led them to Livadia, where they massacred all the Mohammedans there, to the number of 2000. In the space of a fortnight, there was scarce a single Mohammedan remaining in all Livadia. Odysseus roused the tribes of Mount Cœta and its vicinity to arms; other persons were active in other quarters; the priests, more especially, exerted themselves to excite the people; the cross

was everywhere displayed, and the war-songs of Rhigas were everywhere heard.

Procopius, bishop of Calavrita, whom Germanos had sent into Elis, had raised the standard of the cross at Gastooni, and called on the Christians to take arms in the cause of their religion and their country. But fear of the Turks chilled the zeal of the Elians, and they hesitated to yield obedience to his exhortations. The ardent prelate then ordered the papas to retire to Mount Olenos with the pictures and consecrated bread, while his men set fire to the town. The people followed their pastors; Procopius went through the plain exhorting the peasants to burn their cottages, and the whole population retired to the mountains with their families and their agricultural implements.\*

Such of the Moreotes as still hesitated, were soon called upon to decide, for a proclamation was issued by Yoosoof-pasha, announcing that no pardon was to be obtained, no hope to be cherished of escaping Turkish vengeance. A prudent amnesty (if a Turk knew what prudence meant) might have induced even the most bold to pause; this sanguinary manifesto infused the courage of despair into even the most timid. Germanos took advantage of it; his energetic discourses called on the people to arouse themselves and fling off the yoke of their tyrants. All the Morea, except the Argolis and Corinth, was now in open revolt; the Turks were besieged in their fortresses; Germanos moved his head-quarters to the Convent of St

\* Pouqueville, ii. 394.



Omblos, within two leagues of Patras. The Christians celebrated Easter within view of the Turks, and the mountains rung with the joyful sounds of the paschal salutation *Χρίστος ἀνέστη*, *Christ is risen*.

Very different was the Easter of the Christian inhabitants of the capital. When the first intelligence arrived of the insurrections beyond the Danube and in the Morea, the sophtas (*students*) issued from their medressis (*colleges*), and went about exciting the fanaticism of the people, by crying that the faith was in danger; the preachers in the mosques lent their aid to inflame the populace, who, with loud cries, demanded the destruction of the Greeks in the capital, a call to which Mahmood was not indisposed to give effect. In a khati-sheriff, issued the 30th March, the Sultan declared Islam to be endangered by the revolt, which he regarded as general, and called on all faithful Mussulmans to resume the warlike manners of their fathers, as the only means of preserving it.

The Sultan next obliged Gregory, the patriarch of Constantinople, to launch the thunders of the church against A. Hypsilantis and all his adherents, as also against Michael Soutzo and his partisans. The Baron Strogonoff, the Russian ambassador, at the same time most explicitly disowned A. Hypsilantis on the part of his court.

Whether the plan of a rising of the Greeks of the capital was real or feigned,\* the divan

\* M. de Pouqueville derides the idea of the existence of this conspiracy—(by the way, he extends his scepticism

affected to give credit to it, and the reports of stores of arms and ammunition being laid up in the churches and the houses of the opulent Greeks, which were circulated by the agents of government, contributed to keep up the alarm and the fanaticism of the Turkish population. Their fears, however, for the capital, did not prevent the government from ordering several *ortas* (regiments) of janizaries to march for Valachia, and embarking a large body of Lazés\* for Galatsi and the plains of Bulgaria, on the Black Sea. At the same time, the principal Valachians and Moldavians resident at Constantinople were seized and put to death, as belonging to a country in rebellion, and their properties confiscated. The Greeks, expecting their turn to come next, began to leave the capital. Some sought refuge in the Isles of Princes, others,

to that of Catiline, that of the Marquis Bedomar, and the Gunpowder Plot)—on the grounds of the good sense and want of means of the Greeks of the capital. The population of Constantinople and its suburbs, he says, is 700,000,000, of whom the Greeks form but 60,000. The number of janizaries in the capital was, he says, 150,000, of whom 20,000 were always on duty, who, with the topjees, silihdars, sipahis, bostanjees, &c. &c., composed a force of 34,800 men, ready to act at a moment's notice, to say nothing of the rest of the Turkish population. This may very well suffice to show that the insurrection, if attempted, could not have succeeded, but it will by no means prove that it was not planned. M. Soutzo, who had the means of being better informed than M. Pouqueville, and who did not publish his work till last year (1829), makes no doubt whatever of the actual existence of the conspiracy.

\* The Lazés are a tribe of Caucasus, who form a part of the Turkish armies.

more timid, directed their course to Odessa. The police became extremely strict, and the Greeks were prohibited from leaving their houses after sunset, either that they might not escape, or that the government was really apprehensive.

On the 15th April, the Lazes, intended for Galatsi, landed at Boojook-Deri, a village on the Bosphorus, four leagues from the capital. They fell on and massacred all the Greeks whom they met, attacked the palace of the ambassador of Spain, broke open and plundered a church; the villages and hamlets round Constantinople were all set on fire, the tumult extended to the capital, the firing of musketry was incessant; the Greeks, when seen on the land or the water, were put to death, or thrown into dungeons; the European ministers and their suites ran the most imminent risk of their lives and properties. The government made no effort to check these excesses till the 19th, when a corps of 300 janizaries were sent to Boojook-Deri to the protection of the Russian ambassador, and large bodies of troops were employed to disperse the rabble, who were spreading terror through the capital.

On Good Friday a divan was held, at which the Vizier Azem (*grand vizir*) presided; the members were informed of the different revolts, and their opinions taken whether it was not justifiable to execute, without enquiry, those concerned in it, be their rank what it might. The mufti declined giving an immediate answer, the other members professed the most implicit sub-

mission to the wisdom of the Vizier Azem ; and the council broke up at eight o'clock in the morning.

The evening before, as Prince Constantine Moroosis, the chief dragoman (*interpreter*) of the Porte, was on his way to the Seraglio, a stranger slipped into his hand a letter from A. Hypsilantis. When he reached his office, he opened and read it ; fearing it might be some plot laid for him by his enemies, he judged it his best course to show it at once to the reis-effendi (*minister for foreign affairs*), and hastened to that minister, who took him immediately to the Grand Vizir. Here Moroosis told all that he knew about the letter ; and both ministers declaring themselves perfectly satisfied, and expressing their opinion that the Sultan would be so likewise, Moroosis retired tolerably free from apprehension.

Next day, as he was going to a conference between the Russian minister and the Porte, he was handed a letter from the reis-effendi, desiring to see him. " Unhappy Prince," said the minister, " you are calumniated. I know that nothing can be laid to your charge. Why cannot I justify you in the eyes of the Sultan, and save you from the danger which 'menaces you ! Go instantly to the kiaya-beg (*minister of the interior*), and prove your innocence to him. May the great and merciful God assist you in this unhappy affair !" As he quitted the office of the minister, Moroosis was seized by the executioners, dragged before the alai kiosk, forced to kneel down, and wait for half an hour in agony the arrival of the inhuman Mahmood. The Sultan at length appeared, made a sign,

and the head of Constantine Moroosis rolled on the earth.

The night before Easter day, the Patriarch Gregory left, according to ancient usage, the Episcopal residence, and proceeded, accompanied by his clergy and other attendants, to the cathedral church of St Nicholas. The solemn mass was chanted as usual; the procession left the church, and was returning to the palace, when a troop of janizaries seized the principal members of the clergy, and dragging the venerable patriarch to his palace, hanged him at his own gate. The prison of the bostanjee-bashee received the unhappy companions of Gregory, of whom ten were members of the synod, among whom were the Archbishops of Anchialus, Ephesus, and Nicomedia, and ten proto-papas attached to the service of the patriarch; and, after being tortured, they were hanged at the gates of the different churches. The bodies remained suspended for three days, at the end of which time a troop of Jews were ordered to drag them through the streets, and fling them into the sea.

The Christian legations met at Pera, and sent to demand an explanation of this unprecedented conduct from the Sultan. The answer they received was, "The Sultan, an absolute and independent sovereign, gives no account of his conduct to any one; he has deemed that he might punish, as he has done, subjects who conspired against his authority, which he holds of God, to whom alone he is responsible for his actions."\*

\* Mahmood had, however, before proceeding to this unusual stretch of power, caused search to be made after precedents. It was found that, in the reign of Moham-

On the receipt of this answer, the Russian ambassador retired to Booyook-Deri, resolved to hold no further intercourse with the Ottoman Porte.

During two months, blood streamed daily in Constantinople, and the sea of Marmora was filled with floating corpses : no age or sex was spared ; the noblest and wealthiest families were slaughtered or banished ; the Archbishops of Adrianople, Chalcedon, Berda, Brusa, and three others, were hanged before their houses ; the prisons were filled with victims ; the churches were plundered and desecrated, or burnt ; the estates of such persons as had been fortunate enough to make their escape, were confiscated. The question of exterminating the Greek population throughout the empire, was again discussed in the divan ; the mufti opposed it, and his opinion prevailed ; but he was shortly afterwards deposed from his office. It has been asserted,\* that the number of the Greeks massacred in the capital amounted to 30,000. In this divan, held on the 20th April, the disarming of all the rayas throughout the empire was resolved on, and orders to that effect were dispatched to the governors of the provinces.

The Sultan, anxious to conciliate the Christian ambassadors, had, a few days previously to holding this divan, disgraced and exiled the grand

med IV. and the viziriat of Kiuperli, two patriarchs had been put to death in prison ; and that, on another occasion, the vicar-general of the Latin church had been publicly hanged, under pretext of his having corresponded with the Pope.—*Pouqueville*, ii. 437.

\* Soutzo, p. 69.

vizir Benderly, as the author of all the evils which had taken place ; and those ministers were not at all displeased at a decent pretext for resuming their functions.

We now return to Valachia.

The pashas of Silistria and Ibraïla set forward in the end of April ; blood as usual marked their course ; the peasants were massacred or impaled ; the children hung by the heels from the trees on the road-side. The latter of these commanders, after a brave defence made by the Ætolian Athanasius, took Galety, with a loss of 900 men ; the former, without firing a shot, entered Bucharest.

While the Turkish forces were thus advancing, all was joy and festivity at Tergovist. Vague reports of the great reinforcements speedily to be brought by Prince Demetrius Hyspilotis were spread, to dispel doubts and uneasiness ; but, except by the Sacred Battalion, all discipline was neglected by the disorderly bands of Hyspilotis. So little precaution was adopted, that the Turkish spies constantly frequented the camp and the town. The money supplied by the friends of the Greek cause was wasted in the most lavish profusion.

When the Turks entered Bucharest, Savas, who had 2000 Albanians under his command, proceeded to Tergovist, and encamped about half a league from where A. Hyspilotis was posted. He here employed every stratagem to get an opportunity of assassinating him ; and when he had failed in all his attempts, he flung off the mask, and declared openly for the Turks.

Theodore Vladimirescos also took the side of



the Turks; and, to gain favour in their eyes, taking with him 2000 Valachians, and 500 Albanian horse, he set out for Kimpoloonghi, with the intention of surprising Nicholas Hypsilantis, and cutting his small force to pieces. George the Olympian followed, and came up with him at Golisti. "Voivode," said he, "dismount; we have some affairs to settle." Theodore obeyed; they proceeded towards a shady tree, under which one of the Albanians spread a carpet for them to sit on. When they were alone, George reproached him with his ingratitude to himself, who had raised him from nothing, made him a member of the Hetairia, and aided him with his counsel and his arm. Theodore, in confusion, confessed that he had been seduced by Austria, with the hopes of the hospodar of Valachia; but that he sincerely repented, and would shed the last drop of his blood for the cause of the Greeks. George embraced him, and said, "Come, follow me to the camp of A. Hypsilantis; ask thy pardon; I will intercede for thee." He accompanied him towards the camp; but on the way, George, finding that he still corresponded with the Turks, arrested him, and sent him to Tergovist. Hypsilantis had him tried by a court-martial, by which he was found guilty. As the soldiers of Theodore threatened to desert, he feared to have him executed publicly, and therefore gave the warrant to Gerasimo Orfanos, who, in the dead of the night, conducted him into an adjacent forest. They stopped before a pit which a Servian was engaged in digging. An Albanian stepped forward, armed with a cutlass, and said to Vladimirescos, "Pray to God."



—“ Kill me rather with a pistol,” said he, covering his face. He fell dead into the pit, and stones and pieces of trees were heaped on him.\*

The Turks, having learned the feeble state of the army of Hypsilantis, advanced with 6000 men against him. Their advanced guard, of 2000 men, attacked John Colocotronis, at the monastery of Nootgesti. Hypsilantis ordered Orfanos to fall on the flank of the enemy, and Constantine Ducas to take him in the rear, while he remained himself in reserve, ready to charge the Turks in the heat of the action. These dispositions being made, the engagement commenced. Colocotronis and Orfanos fought boldly, and the Turks seemed disposed to give way, when Ducas, seized with a fit of cowardice, called to his men to fall back : he gave, himself, the example of flight ; the panic spread ; in vain Hypsilantis sought to check the fugitives ; no one would attend to his voice. At Vacarest he rallied the remains of his army, and fell back to Pitesti. Putting the Sacred Battalion† under the

\* Soutzo. Others give a somewhat different account of this affair.

† The Sacred Battalion was composed of 333 young men, full of courage and enthusiasm. The sufferings they underwent may be conceived from the following extract from a letter of D. Soutzo, one of their commanders, written a few days before his death :—

“ My feet are all blistered ; I have been without shoes these some days ; I sleep in fetid marshes, and live on fruit, and now and then a bit of dry bread. But these privations are agreeable. This adventurous life is pleasing to me. From my childhood I thought of nothing but of the day of our independence. I find myself, for the first time, at the head of freemen, who do not overwhelm me

command of his brother, he took 1500 select men with him, and set out to attack a detachment of 2000 Turks at Dragatsan; he sent a small party of Albanians to cut off the communication between that place and the main body of the Turkish army in Little Valachia. Having then strictly charged his officers not to risk a general engagement, but to amuse the enemy by skirmishing, he went to visit the adjacent posts.

Next day, Karavias, negligent of orders, took a hundred men with him, and presented himself before the gates of Dragatsan; the Turks came out and surrounded him. Nicholas Hypsilantis, with the Sacred Battalion, and George the Olympian, advanced to his aid, but found him defeated. N. Hypsilantis drew the battalion up in two lines, with a few hundred Albanians on their flanks. The Turks advanced; extended their wings, in order to outflank the Greeks; the Valachian cannoneers quitted their guns and deserted; the Albanians turned their horses round and fled; the Turks pressed on; the inexperienced enthusiasts who composed the battalion were easily thrown into confusion. The four commanders, Demetrius Soutzo, Dracoolis of Ithaca, Lucas, and Andronicos, the standard-bearer Xenophon, twenty-five officers, and a number of others fell, crying, "The Greeks never yield!" The remainder saved themselves in the woods and thickets about Dragatsan. N. Hypsilantis, almost alone, cut his way through the

with idle titles, who give me the delightful name of brother," &c. &c. — *Soutzo*, p. 79.

Turks ; his brother, on learning the defeat of his army, retired to the monastery of Kosia.

At Kosia, A. Hypsilantis learned that all was over in Moldavia. Cantacuzena had distributed his men in small parties, keeping with him only 600 men, commanded by Athanasius the Ætolian. When he heard that the Turks had entered Yassy, he crossed the Pruth, under pretext of conferring with the Russian officers ; but he never returned, and Athanasius was left to Providence and his own valour.

Athanasius was posted at a village named Stinga, on the right bank of the Pruth, opposite the Russian lazaretto, when he heard of the approach of a corps of the Turks to attack him. He began to throw up some hasty intrenchments, resting on the river ; the third side was not completed when the Turks came, and attacked him on that very side. He held them in check the entire day. Next morning the combat was renewed with increased fury. The Turks were forced to attack the intrenchments sword in hand, the Russians having sent to inform them, that “ the balls which would reach them would kill the neutrality.” Three Russian regiments drawn up on the farther bank, animated by their acclamations the gallant defence of the Greeks. In the evening, Athanasius, finding himself wounded, one half of his men killed, and his ammunition all spent, plunged, followed by his remaining men, into the Pruth, and swam to the other side, where they were received with open arms by the admiring Russians. The loss of the Turks is stated at 950 men.

A. Hypsilantis, having abandoned all hopes of success, and having issued (as he was too fond of doing) an inflated proclamation, in which he reproached his troops with their cowardice and treachery, passed the frontier with his brothers and four others, in reliance on the assurance of the Austrian colonel, Schwind, that he would be permitted to pass to Hamburg to embark for America. But a close confinement in the castle of Mongatz was what awaited him, and he died three years afterwards, the victim of Austrian cruelty and breach of faith.

The character of A. Hypsilantis was an ordinary one. He was brave, frank, and open; but vain, and ignorant of human nature. Hence he was the dupe of knaves, and the victim of treachery. His raising the standard of revolt with such feeble means, was, taken in itself, an act little short of madness; but it should be recollected that he reckoned with full confidence on the aid of Russia. That power has always made the Greeks the victims of her policy; and whatever misfortunes were brought on them by the untimely insurrection in Valachia, should be laid to the charge of the Emperor, who fed the unfortunate Hypsilantis with fallacious hopes.

Before we quit Valachia, we must relate the exploits of George of Olympus. After the unfortunate affair of Dragatsan, he collected 1400 men, with whom, during five months, he incessantly harassed the Turks. He effected his retreat into Moldavia, and fixed himself in the mountains of Vrantza to the west of Forean. His men were now reduced to 1000, but he never hesitated to lead them against six or seven times

their number. His body was so riddled with wounds at this time, that his men were forced to carry him on a handbarrow; but at the approach of an action, he always had himself put on horseback. Every effort was made to get him out of the country, for the number of Turks slain by him was so great, as to give room for an exaggerated statement of its amounting to 10,000. The Austrian consul at Yassy proposed to facilitate his passage to the Russian territory, but George declared that he would remain where he was, as his object was to shed the blood of the enemies of his country, not to save his own life. At length the Bishop of Romano laid a snare for him; he wrote to implore him to come, and save the town of Yassy from the petty Turkish garrison who were in it, and who menaced it with conflagration. The generous warrior obeyed the call; but when he came within a few leagues of Yassy, he found himself surrounded by 10,000 Turks, commanded by two pashas. After a bloody conflict, he effected his retreat to the convent of Seco. Leaving the defence of the intrenchments to the brave Farmaki, he made his men carry him up to the belfry of the convent, whence he might command a view of the country, and be enabled to make the proper dispositions for defence. The contest was continued for three days, and the loss of the Turks was considerable. At length the Austrian agent at Botostani, under pretext of mediating, approached the trenches, asked to see Farmaki, exaggerated to him the strength of the Turks, and promised him pardon in the name of the Sultan, if he would surrender. One of the pa-

shas approached at the same time, and confirmed these promises by an oath on the head of the Sultan. Farmaki and his men believed and surrendered, and were sent, bound hand and foot, to Constantinople, to suffer an ignominious death. George, who was on the belfry with eight of his trustiest companions, addressed them to this effect: "My friends, I know the Turks; nothing is sacred with them, and you know it as well as I; let us then die with honour, and free." They embraced, set fire to the powder, and died the death of the brave.\*

## CHAPTER XII.

*State of Hydra, Spetzia, and Ipsara—Anthony Œconomos—Declaration of the Hydraotes—Tombasis chosen Admiral—Insurrection of Attica—Justice of the Greek cause—Conduct of the Christian powers—Strength of the belligerent parties.*

WHILE the Greeks of the mainland were everywhere either in arms or meditating insurrection, the islanders were not inattentive to the voice of their country and the name of liberty.

As we have already observed, the circumstances of Europe had given a great impetus to the progress of the Greek marine. A population of 35,000 persons were accumulated on the

\* Raybaud, i. 250, *et seq.* Dr Walsh (Narrative, &c., p. 256) says he saw Georgaki executed at Constantinople. Perhaps it was Farmaki.

rock of Hydra ; a spot possessing neither earth nor spring of water ; among them were some of the richest ship-owners of Europe ; and their commercial navy contained 150 vessels, in which they had, until 1814, been the almost exclusive carriers of the produce of the coasts of the Archipelago and Black Sea, to the ports of France and Italy. The island was governed by a senate, presided over by an elective chief, chosen for life from among their captains, and confirmed by the Sultan. The only tribute which they gave was, the annual service and support of 500 men of their mariners, to navigate the fleet with which the capitan-pasha went round to collect the tribute of the isles. The president of Hydra had a guard of fifty men ; an impost of two per cent on the import of goods sufficed for the support of the government and the public institutions.

The isle of Spetzia (the ancient Tiparanus), near Hydra and Ipsara, another sterile spot, adjacent to the fertile Chios, resembled Hydra in this naval prosperity. They paid the same kind of tribute to the Porte, who dignified them all with the name Refulides, or Auxiliaries. The island of Ipsara was governed by a tetrarchy of four persons, each of whom kept a part of the public seal, which was put together to sign every public act.

The agent of Ali Tebelin had, it is said, given the Hydraotes information of the designs of the Porte against its Christian subjects, but they had refused to give credit to the intelligence. There were 300 of their sailors on board of the fleet of the capitana-bey off the coast of Epirus, and they thought that the communication made to them



by the agent of Ali, was merely a stratagem to cause coolness and suspicion between them and the Osmanlis. But letters from Prevesa now came, informing them, that as soon as the Turks had heard of the affairs of Patras, they had murdered several of the Hydraote mariners, and sent the remainder to work as rowers on board of the flotilla launched into the lake of Jannina, to oppose that of Ali. In the midst of their grief and consternation, a vessel came to them from the tetrarchs of Ipsara, (which island and Spetzia had already raised the standard of the cross,) to inform them of the divan having come to the resolution of disarming the Greeks, and calling on them to decide, and not to suffer them to be stript of the 400 pieces of cannon and 60,000 muskets which they had procured by their industry and their economy.

While the Hydraote senate was engaged in deliberation, a man, named Antony Œconomos, of a turbulent and daring temper, like the demagogues of old times, appeared in the public square, and, collecting a crowd around him, and stamping on the rocky ground, cried, " 'Tis we who have turned these stones to gold, by braving the elements and the Algerines—'tis we, who, by spending our lives in these vessels, have raised these marble palaces in which these wealthy sluggards repose—'tis we who have brought hither the gold of Mexico and Peru! Let them then pour it out of the cisterns in which they accumulate it. What do we wait for? All Greece is in arms!" Shouts of "Long live Antony Œconomos! Down with the rich! Death or liberty!" followed this address. The



standard of revolt against the Sultan and the primates was raised ; the treasures of the Condooriotis, the Tombasis, and other wealthy Hydraotes, which were afterwards so nobly spent in the common cause, were on the eve of becoming the prey of the rabble, when the seasonable energy of one man checked the evil.

As Œconomos was marching in triumph at the head of his mob, Antony Criesis, one of the captains of Hydra, stepped before him, and seized him by the garment—"Mad demagogue!" said he to him, "whither art thou going? Liberty is not the daughter of anarchy, she cannot spring from civil discord." The good citizens who had been overawed, took courage; Œconomos, and about a score of his partisans, were besieged in the chancery by the captains Panayotas and Dregnas; he made a desperate resistance, killing the latter, and wounding the former; he was on the point of coming off victor, when Criesis again appeared. Having for some time stood the fire of men defended by stone vaults, Criesis retired to the house of George Bulgaris, whence he commenced a fire on the rebel. The Tombasis, the Tsamados, and other primates, come to his aid; the people fly from the square, abandoning their idol of the day. Œconomos, pursued by several of the captains, flies to Camini, a retired quarter of the town; he gets on board a vessel belonging to the Tombasis, his pursuers ascend another; they force him to land again, and at length to surrender.\*

\* Soutzo. This is the only writer who enters into any details respecting the demagogue. It is not clear, however, that it was at this period he appeared.

On the 28th April, the senate of Hydra unanimously proclaimed the *Reign of the Cross*. On the following day, the standard of independence was blessed by Cyril, bishop of Ægina, and raised amidst the acclamations of the people, and this declaration issued :—

“ In the name of Almighty God.

“ The Hellenic nation, wearied with groaning beneath the harsh yoke by which it has been, for four centuries, contumeliously oppressed, flies to arms with a stable and unanimous impulse, to escape being worn out by the heavy chains laid on her by the barbarous Mohammedans. The sacred name of liberty resounds through all parts of Hellas, and every Hellenic heart burns with the desire of recovering this precious gift of God, or of perishing in the struggle for it.

“ The inhabitants of the Isle of Hydra will not remain less prompt in engaging in this noble struggle ; but, despising every danger for the sake of overthrowing the power of their tyrants, are resolved to employ the only means which the local nature of their position gives for that purpose.”

The senate then declared that they had nominated James Tombasis, son of Nicholas, captain of the Themistocles, of sixteenguns, Navarch (*admiral*), and he was directed to proceed, with the forces under his command, whithersoever he judged it expedient to attack the Ottoman forces, with the means usually employed in legitimate warfare, until the period when the liberty and independence of Greece should have been secured. The appointment of Tombasis was then announced to the governments of

Spetzia, Ipsara, and such other isles as possessed shipping; and he was unanimously chosen navarch of the entire Union. Subscriptions were immediately opened at Hydra for the support of the navy, and MM. Condooriotis and Orlando set down their names for L.2300 each, for the equipment and maintenance of twenty vessels during the ensuing summer and autumn. Every effort was now made to get the fleet ready for sea.

Towards the middle of April, the inhabitants of the hills of Attica had begun to commit some slight depredations on the Turks, such as stealing their sheep, and kidnapping and setting at ransom themselves: but when they heard of the murder of the patriarch, they began to put to death such Turks as fell into their hands. The alarm extended all over the plain and country; and the cadi of Athens deemed it advisable to make the archbishop and the primates take the oath of fidelity to their *legitimate sovereign*.\*

The Christian and Turkish inhabitants of Athens united in their desire to maintain the public security; and the gates were strictly guarded to prevent any attempts of the insurgents. No enemy, however, appeared, till one day, an emissary, secretly employed by them, came to the town, and informed the voivode that there was a small party of Greek robbers in the neighbourhood of Marathon, who might be easily surprised and cut to pieces. Immediately 800 of the Attic Turks set forth, eager to

\* Spectateur Oriental, April 1820, 1821. Pouqueville.

destroy, singing verses of the Koran.\* They had just entered on the ever-memorable plain, when 1200 Greeks rushed from their concealment, and attacked them. The dastardly Turks made no resistance, about a hundred of them fled to Athens, closely followed by the victors; the Turks all hastened to shut themselves up in the acropolis; and the insurgents pillaged and burnt several of the houses of the Moslems.

The insurrection now spread to Eleusis, Megara, and the towns of the isthmus. The Hetairist Dikaïos, who was there, put himself at the head of the insurgents, and appeared before the walls of Corinth. The Turks, having had timely intimation of their approach, had retired to the lofty and almost impregnable acropolis, whence they could safely bid their foes defiance.

As nearly all Greece was now in arms against the Ottoman government, and a combat was about to be engaged in, in which the Greeks must either come off victors, or be exterminated by the Turkish scimitar, we will interrupt the course of our narrative to consider, first, the moral character of the insurrection, and how far it was founded in justice or otherwise; secondly, the sentiments and conduct of the Christian powers; thirdly, the relative strength of the belligerent parties.

1. The word *insurrection*, like *rebellion*, is usually employed in a bad sense, and is too apt to excite impressions unfavourable to those to

\* “Not the chorusses of Euripides,” says M. Pouqueville, “which the Athenians repeated as they marched to meet the barbarians encamped at Marathon;”—a piece of classic intelligence, we must confess, altogether new to us.

whose actions it is applied. Yet the cause of insurgents is frequently—perhaps, in the majority of instances—the cause of justice and right. As long as dominion, founded on aggression and conquest, is maintained by tyranny and oppression,—as long as the interest and happiness of the subject people are wantonly sacrificed to the passions and caprices of the dominant people, or caste, and the shepherds are the flayers, not the guardians, of the flock,—so long do the conquered people retain the right of regaining by force, what they lost by weakness; and the prayers of the good and the virtuous will ever attend them in the conflict. Such, then, was the state of the Greeks. They had been conquered; almost the whole of their territory had been seized and portioned out among the conquerors; they were degraded to the condition of mere serfs in the land which had been their fathers'; they were each year obliged to redeem their lives from the sabre of their tyrants by the payment of the *kharatch*, or capitation-tax; under the title of *rayas*, they were distinguished from their masters by dress, by language, by manners, by religion. It was utterly impossible that the two races could ever amalgamate, unless the Greeks were willing to renounce their faith and their language; for the Turks were not like the Germanic conquerors of the Roman empire, who, though they seized the lands, and reduced to servitude the persons, of the inhabitants of the provinces, embraced their religion and usages, and mingled their languages. What then remained for the Greeks but to bow for ever beneath the galling yoke of irreclaimable bar-

barians, or to make a desperate effort to recover those rights of which force had deprived them, but to which their claim had never ceased to subsist? What applauder of the assertors of Swiss, of Swedish, of Dutch, of American independence, can refuse the meed of his approbation to the patriots of reviving Hellas?

Now that the civic wisdom and courage of an illustrious warrior has gained a victory over ill-grounded fears and prejudices, before whose lustre, the glittering trophies of Vittoria and Waterloo will, in the eyes of posterity, fade away into insignificance, we may venture, without fear of giving offence, or of exciting disaffection, to observe that the case most parallel to that of Greece which modern times presents, is that of Ireland during the last century, taking into account the immense difference between British and Protestant justice and humanity, and Turkish barbarism and fanatic spirit. Like the Greek *raya*, the Irish Catholic, be his rank what it might, was, and felt himself to be, one of a degraded caste; he could not acquire land or possess arms for his defence, his property was insecure, a dreadful code of laws was ever suspended over his head, and only kept from crushing him by the humanity of the ruling caste. The Greek could only redeem his life from year to year by the payment of the *kharatch*; the law, it was asserted, actually denied the existence of the Irish Catholic. The consequences of this state of social existence were apparent in the characters of the two castes: the vices which the advocates of the Turks discern in the Greeks, and love so to blazon forth

to the world, are those of the Irish Catholic, (though much less in degree;) the virtues which they ascribe to their favourite Turks, are those of the Irish Protestant, whose vices also bear some faint resemblance to those of the Osmanli. But having escaped the soul-withering effects of moral and political degradation, the Irish Protestant stands—we assert it, not caring who may take offence—higher in the moral scale than the Irish Catholic. How long he may *now* maintain his superiority, we cannot presume to say, for the peculiar vices of the Catholic were the offspring, not of his creed, but of his political situation.

If, when in that degraded state, the Irish Catholics had sought by force of arms to recover the rights of which they had been deprived, and had succeeded in securing their national independence, one more instance might have been added to the catalogue of *Glorious Revolutions* which shine along the pages of history. But how great the difference between a British cabinet and a Turkish divan! The Duke of Wellington and his colleagues have, by one act of real wisdom, firmly attached the affections of an entire people to the British crown, and given the empire a degree of strength and security which it never before possessed—for an insurrection of the Irish Catholics would now be folly, be madness, be *rebellion*, in its worst and most disgusting form—while the barbarous, exterminating system of the Turkish sultan and his ministry has lost to Mahmood one of the finest portions of his dominions.

2. It was, perhaps, unfortunate for the cause

of the Greeks, that their insurrection should have coincided in time with the futile attempts made to limit despotism in the two more western peninsulas of Europe. An opportunity was thereby presented to the enemies of liberty, of representing it as a branch of the same spirit of factious resistance to what was designated *legitimate* authority, and of heaping obloquy on those who engaged in it. Nothing, however, is more certain, than that the Greek Hetairists were perfectly unconnected with the Italian Carbonari; they had little or no communication with Italy: it was from Germany, Russia, and France, that those patriotic Greeks came who hastened back to their natal soil to conquer or die in the cause of Hellas.

The general feeling of the Christian governments was in favour of the Turks. A possession of power over the Greeks, during centuries, legitimated their right to it in the eyes of the monarchs and statesmen who sat in congress at Laybach, planning how best to rivet the fetters of the people; and as these personages were agreed to regard the absolute monarch as the only legitimate source of law and institutions, and Mahmood did not choose to grant his rayas liberty or security, it followed, as a natural consequence, that their efforts to recover their inalienable rights were rebellion against their legitimate sovereign, and should be discouraged and crushed like those of Naples and Piedmont, by the vicegerents of God upon earth. The actuating spirit at Laybach was Austria, a power who has acquired an odious celebrity by the vehement hostility, often carried to an excess



which provokes ridicule and contempt rather than hatred, against liberty, under whatever form it may exhibit itself; and, as we have already seen, her diplomacy did not scruple or blush to have recourse to forgery for the attainment of their darling object.

In the case of Greece, however, there was, besides this general hatred of liberty, a peculiar reason for opposition on the part of Austria,—namely, a strong, and not, perhaps, altogether ill-founded jealousy of the increasing power of Russia. The Greeks were known to be more attached to Russia than to any other European power. Russia was the natural enemy of their tyrants, and the conquest of Turkey by her must be of advantage in every point of view to the Greeks. The number of the Greeks, too, who engaged in the civil or military service of Russia, and of the traders who resorted to, or settled in, her ports on the Black Sea, aided to keep up the feelings of attachment and amity between the rayas of the Sultan and the power who menaced him from the north. Religion was a farther tie; the Greeks were persecuted and oppressed on account of their religion, and as men always do, they but loved it the better, and clung to it the more pertinaciously on that account. Religion was, therefore, in their eyes, a concern of paramount importance; the Russian Tsar, the only potentate of Europe who professed the doctrines of the Greek church, was regarded by them as a kind of temporal head of their church; and the connexion between religious and political affection is close and intimate, where there are, as in the present case, no conflicting national interests.

Austria naturally concluded, that any diminution of the Ottoman power, especially in Europe, would be an augmentation of that of Russia; and we shall, therefore, find her on all occasions throwing every possible obstacle in the way of the Greeks, and giving every aid that she could to their enemies, short of actual hostilities, from which fear, rather than any other motive, restrained her.

The case of England was somewhat similar. Greatly as she exults in the possession of a degree of liberty beyond that of almost any other people, she has never, in her national capacity, shown any remarkable zeal for extending the blessing to others; and, at the period of which we write, her foreign affairs were under the direction of a statesman whose egregious vanity had made him the complete dupe of the Holy Alliance, and whose own sentiments had never led him to worship at the fane of freedom. But it was not the influence of one man, or of the government, which caused the lukewarmness or hostility of the English nation to the Greek cause—the spirit of trade which pervades and actuates the entire mass of our society, was alarmed; we too have our fears of the increasing power of Russia; vague and chimerical apprehensions of her, one day or other, pouring, like a Seleucus or Tamerlane, a northern army over the plains of India, and destroying our Eastern empire, haunt our minds. She has, moreover, made so little progress in political economy, as to be fond of imposing tariffs and protecting duties; and it is apprehended, that, if she were mistress, or directed the policy, of the countries

now subject to the Turk, we might not enjoy the same commercial advantages which the Sultan concedes to us. Hence, then, the declaration that the preservation of the Ottoman Empire in its integrity, is essential to the maintenance of the balance of power in Europe; hence the illaudable proceedings of the Lord High Commissioner of the Ionian Islands and his council; hence the zeal for the Turkish cause shown by the British consular agents, whom, we fear, we cannot perfectly vindicate from the charge brought against them, of acting the part of spies, on various occasions, for the Turkish government; hence, finally, the vituperative language applied to the Greeks by so many British writers. The sympathy of the people of England was not, in fact, with the Greeks in this arduous struggle; our classic recollections, where such existed, did not warm us in their cause; the dread of an increase of the Russian power chilled all our kindly feelings in their behalf; and those who, in this country, were most active in their endeavours to aid her, were only regarded as hot-headed, warm-hearted enthusiasts, or Utopian visionaries, until the affair of a Greek loan brought other actors on the scene.

France was too much occupied by her own internal affairs to take much interest in the distant events of the East of Europe, and she did not, perhaps, see so much reason as others to dread the increasing power of Russia. The people were generally in favour of the Greek patriots; the government did not testify any very hostile feelings towards them. The same was the case in Northern Germany, where classic

knowledge and classic enthusiasm prevail more than in any other part of Europe.

The feelings of the Emperor Alexander led him, at first, as it would appear, to take part with the oppressed people of Greece; but his feelings were soon obliged to give way before the principles of the Holy Alliance, and the Russian ministers and agents carefully abstained from giving any countenance or aid to the Greek cause. It may, indeed, be questioned, if entertaining hopes, as she is said to do, of making European Turkey her own, it was for the interest of Russia that Greece should recover her independence; it might be regarded as withdrawing from her grasp a portion of what she counted on possessing, and though she might hope to influence the councils of independent Greece, a decent pretext for subjecting it might hardly present itself.

3. At the commencement of the struggle, the superiority of force and means was greatly on the side of the Turks. The Sultan was master of 160 regiments (*ortes*) of Janizaries, of 30,000 cannoneers, and a numerous force of Dehlis or light-horse, spread over the empire; his Turkish subjects were all armed and inspired with fanaticism; he had twenty fortresses in Greece, defended by nearly 80,000 men; Albania and Bosnia furnished him with a valiant soldiery; and the resources of an immense empire were at his disposal. His marine consisted of fifteen ships of the line, seventeen frigates, twenty-four corvettes, and a great number of two-masted vessels; and the navies of Egypt and of the Barbary States were ready to sail at his call.

To oppose these forces, the Greeks could count only 18,000 Klephts of Continental Greece; 35,000 Moreötes, less disciplined and less brave than the Klephts of the mountains of Thessaly and Ætolia; 15,000 Cretans, and a rabble of peasantry, without arms, courage, or discipline. Their naval force consisted of 150 fast-sailing brigs, which they changed from the merchant-service to that of war, manned by 9500 hardy sailors, who could vie in skill and courage with any in Europe. Their resources were the accumulated capital of their wealthy merchants, and the plunder which the war itself might afford.\*

### CHAPTER XIII.

*The Grecian Admiral puts to sea—he arrives at Tino—at Ipsara—Turkish vessels captured—Attempt to excite the Chiotes—The Insurrection spreads through the Islands—Christians massacred by the Turks—Naval Force of the Greeks.*

ON the 2d of May, the navarch, Tombasis, having taken an oath of obedience to the senate of Hydra, got his fleet under weigh, and put to sea, with sealed orders. In his oath he had bound himself to respect, on board of the ships of the enemy, the property of his innocent countrymen, that of Europeans, even of the Turks themselves, when they struck their flag without opposition. In his instructions to the captains

\* This is the statement of Soutzo.

under him, he exhorted them to render themselves deserving in the eyes of Europe, by a strict adherence to the usages of civilized warfare. It was declared that the neutral flag should cover goods belonging to the enemy, and that they should abstain from *forcibly* visiting the vessels of Christian powers, unless when they were hired by the Turkish government for the conveyance of men or military stores; in which case the lading should be seized, but the captain be paid his freight, and obliged to take the soldiers back to the port where he had taken them on board. The admiralty of Spetzia, one of whose captains, named Argyros Stremitziotis, had a few days before captured an Austrian sloop with Turkish soldiers on board for the Morea, and sent her into Tino (*Tenos*), on hearing of the resolution of the senate of Hydra, resolved to conform to it; and Tombasis was directed to proceed to Tino, and redress this grievance.

By the order of the senate, each vessel in the fleet bore on its mast a proclamation addressed to the islanders of the Archipelago, informing them of the universality of the insurrection, and calling on them to embark in their vessels, and join the fleets of Hydra, Spetzia, and Ipsara, in the glorious work of giving liberty to the Archipelago. The proclamation concluded by devoting to execration and perdition those who should keep back from aiding the most just of causes.

On the evening of the 3d of May, the fleet cast anchor at Tino, and the navarch wrote to invite the primates to a conference on the follow-

ing day. They repaired on board in the morning, where they were received with a salute of artillery ; and a court-martial was immediately held on Argyros Stremitziotis, the Spetziote captain. It appeared that the Austrian consul had already recovered his vessel, with the Turks, and their property, so that he had only a claim of 350 Turkish piastres (about L.10) to make, which sum was instantly paid.

The island of Tino is about sixteen leagues in circumference, and contained a population of 16,000 souls. It had belonged to Venice, and a small portion of its inhabitants adhered to the rites of the Latin church. Tombasis, on inviting the people to join the common cause, learned with great satisfaction that, two days before, the standard of the cross had been raised, and a provisional government formed. He invited the Catholic Bishop to adhere to the insurrection, but one of the principal Catholics waited on him to say that their numbers were too small in the Levant to permit of their taking any part in civil matters ; he was, however, willing to engage, in their name, for their contributing their money, along with the orthodox, to the cause of liberty. With this the admiral declared himself satisfied.

In the course of the day, a Spetziote vessel came and informed the people of the death of the patriarch Gregory. This mournful intelligence had reached Imbros along with several fugitives from Constantinople, whom the Spetziote captain brought with him to Tino. The people were filled with grief and rage at the tidings, and it required all the influence of Tom-

basis to prevent their rushing to the house of the Austrian consul, and massacring the Turks who were there.

The navarch, having put again to sea, opened the sealed packet, and found that, with other pieces, it contained a proclamation to the Chiotés, calling on them to join in the insurrection. This step had been suggested by Neophytes Bambas, a learned and eloquent priest of Chios, who had been obliged to seek refuge at Hydra, from the government, who persecuted him as a Hetaïrist. Off Myconos, the squadron was joined by three vessels belonging to it, which had captured a vessel from the capital, bound for Candia with gun-carriages for the fortresses of Retimo and Candia. May 6th, the squadron cast anchor in the port of Ipsara, which island lies northwest of Chios, is barren and rugged, but abounded in shipping. The Ipsariotes informed the admiral that Andros had sent them its adhesion, and all the neighbouring isles were declared for independence, except Scyros, which was inhabited by Latin Christians, who, on all occasions, went contrary to the orthodox. The people of the village of Volisses in Chios had also sent to invite the patriots to effect a landing near their village, when they would join them; but as these people were of a rustic character, and unlike their countrymen in general, the president of the Ipsariote council said, "One swallow does not make a summer. The Chiotés are sunk in luxury, and they must be violently shaken to rouse them." Two of the principal Chiotés, who happened to be at Ipsara, were then called into the council; and the necessity



of declaring against the common enemy was represented to them in vain. They shrunk with horror from the idea, and alleged, what was probably just, that it would be more for the common interest for them to remain quiet, and supply those who were in arms with money, than to expose themselves to Turkish vengeance by engaging prematurely in the insurrection. It was, however, the opinion of the council, that a landing should be effected in that island, and the Ipsariotes added ten of their ships to the Hydraote squadron.

The Hydraotes had meantime driven a Turkish vessel, laden with military stores for Candia, under the fortress of Chios, where they sunk it, in view of the Mohammedans. An Ipsariote brig captured another vessel, with ninety Turkish soldiers and 140 *hajjees*, or pilgrims to Mecca, on board. The soldiers fought to the last, and were all slain ; the hajjees were sent to Mani, in the Morea, to be sold for slaves.

On the 8th May, the combined squadron cast anchor at the Fountain of the Pasha in Chios. It was resolved to try to raise the country-people, and then to attack the town by sea and land. An Ipsariote sailor was accordingly sent up through the country with a proclamation to the Chiotes, calling on them to join in the insurrection. The sailor was hardly gone when news arrived of the capture of another Turkish vessel, bound for Candia ; and on the 10th, a ship with pilgrims, destined for Alexandria, became the prize of two of the Hydraote brigs. The wealth found in this vessel was considerable ; it consisted of twelve silver and six golden cande-

labra, three mirrors set in jewels, a great quantity of silver-plate, diamonds, pearls, and other precious stones. So much plunder quite dazzled the Greek mariners; and the captains, who were on shore at a neighbouring village, were obliged to come instantly on board, to prevent the ill consequences which were likely to result. The next day their emissary returned, with the information that he had found only about 100 men in the village of Lanyadez inclined to take arms; and as they had learned from other quarters, that the people of the town of Chios had voluntarily given hostages to the pasha, who had left 150 Asiatic Turks for the defence of the citadel, and sent the remainder of his troops through the country to disarm the people, they saw that, in the present state of affairs, nothing was to be done there, and they resolved to return to Hydra.

On the 13th, the Greeks sunk another Turkish vessel and her crew, who had refused to surrender. The 16th, they drove another ashore near the village of Cardanga, and having taken a ship, on board of which were some Jews, they hanged them, to avenge the insults offered by their brethren of Constantinople to the corpse of the patriarch Gregory. The squadron put to sea again on the 19th; the Ipsariotes returned home to put their isle in a state of defence; the Hydraotes made sail for Lesbos, and on the night of the 20th they effected their return to Hydra.

A division of the Greek fleet which was cruizing among the Cyclades, having learned that there were lying at Milos a Turkish corvette

of thirty-two guns, and a brig, made sail for that island. The greater part of the Turkish crews, as well as their officers, were on shore when the Greek fleet arrived; the inhabitants rose and assailed the Turks with stones and other missiles, while the Greek ships fired on them from the water. The Turks were all slain, and the island, which contained about 1200 or 1500 inhabitants, joined the general insurrection. All the islands were now in arms against the Sultan, except Scyros, Chios, Cos, Mitylene, Rhodes, and Candia. At Ceos, fifteen Turks, who were put on shore by a Hydraote vessel, were massacred by the people. At Paros, the garrison was slaughtered. At Samos, there was a general massacre of the Turks. In most of the islands the Turkish collectors of tribute, and other officers, were put to death.

They know little of the Turkish character, who could suppose that, where they had the power, they did not take most ample retaliation on the Greeks; the example set by the capital, where the Fanar was made desolate, was eagerly followed by the provinces. In all the principal towns of Anatolia, particularly at Smyrna, the Greeks were the victims of the fanaticism and thirst for blood and plunder of the Moslems. At Cos and Rhodes, the Mohammedan part of the population had risen on and massacred the Christians. From all quarters fugitives flocked to Ipsara; and in the space of fifteen days, not less than 12,000 unfortunate persons arrived on that barren islet, which is incapable of supporting its own inhabitants, and has to fetch even its water from Chios and Mitylene.

The charity exhibited by the Ipsariotes, on the present occasion, was highly creditable to them. They opened their magazines to supply the refugees with food; and every night, barks, accompanied by armed men, were sent to the watering places of the continent, and the neighbouring isles, to fetch water in barrels and skins. They also dug wells; but the water was so brackish, that it produced epidemic diseases among those who drank of it. When this state of affairs at Ipsara was known at Hydra, ships were sent to take the refugees, and disperse them through the islands, where they experienced a kind and generous hospitality.

As it was known that a fleet was getting ready at Constantinople to act against the insurgent islanders, the Ipsariotes made every effort to put their isle into a state of defence. The same was done at Hydra, where orders were issued by the senate to get ready for sea thirty-six vessels of from twelve to twenty guns each, manned by 2436 hardy mariners. The sailors now flung off the raya dress; their commanders wore helmets surmounted with a cross, and bearing the motto, *Death or Liberty*. Their flag displayed a figure of Christ, with the device H TΑΝ Η ΕΠΙ ΤΑΣ, \* which they interpreted, *with it or over it*, i. e. conquer or sink.

Spetzia fitted out ten vessels, manned by 640 sailors. Three ships were contributed by Booboolina, the widow of a man who was assassinated at Constantinople in 1812, and, a second Arte-

\* The words of the Spartan mother on presenting the shield to her son.

misia, she commanded her little squadron in person. Modena Mavroyeni, who had sought refuge in the isle of Myconos after the murder of her father by order of the Sultan, fitted out two vessels, to which the Myconians added four xebecs. This heroine, we are told, declared that her hand was reserved for a freeman who had signalized himself against the Turks. Calauria furnished a vessel of sixteen guns and 120 men. Cymo, and the other isles, gave a number of vessels of various sizes to the common cause. Ipsara sent to sea twenty fleet polaccas, manned by chosen sailors. The whole sea was covered with the vessels of the Greeks; and the Turks could not venture to navigate the waters of the Archipelago through dread of the Towshans (*hares*), as they were in the habit of contemptuously styling the Greeks of the islands. Sentinels, as in the old times, were posted on all the heights, to give notice of the approach of the Turkish fleet, that all might hasten to take share in the *Holy War*.

Such was the state of the islands at the end of the first month of the naval war. We must now again direct our attention to the Morea and Epirus.

## CHAPTER XIV.

*Troops sent to Tripolitza—Atrocities committed by them—Plans of Khoorsheed to destroy the Christians—they fail—Omer Briones marches into Boeotia—Engagements with the Greeks—Attack on Ali—The people of Calavrita and Syraco abandon their dwellings—Omer Briones reaches Athens.*

AFTER Yoosoof pasha had repulsed the disorderly bands of archbishop Germanos, a body of 2400 Turks and Albanians landed at Patras, sent by Khoorsheed, under the command of his kiaya and of Elmas-bey, for the defence of Tripolitza. At Vostitza these chiefs roasted, we are told, at a slow fire, some Greeks who fell into their hands, and burnt the churches and houses. When they entered Argolis, the people of its capital, who had given up their arms, advanced to meet them with presents. They were received with civility, and dismissed; but that very night, 700 of those capable of bearing arms were seized and decapitated. The town was at the same time set fire to in different quarters; numbers of women and children perished in the flames; about 6000 of the inhabitants made their escape to the mountains of Arcadia; all the villages were deserted; the peasants took up arms and harassed the Turkish army, which, with some loss, reached Tripolitza.

At Patras another shock of an earthquake was felt on the morning of the 29th April, and the Greeks began to come down from Mount

Panochæacos, and annoy the garrison. On the 2d May, and the two following days, they entered the town of Patras, and they burnt the country-seats and farm-houses of the agás. They cut off the supplies of provisions destined for the citadel, and were beginning to have a decided advantage, when some bodies of Albanian troops, sent from Epirus by Khoorsheed-pasha, appeared, and drove them back to the mountains.

Ali Pasha was still in possession of the island in the lake of Jannina, from which he would not suffer the Greek inhabitants to depart. This conduct excited their fears and their indignation; and when they learned that Khoorsheed pasha meditated an attack on the island, they sent him such information as greatly facilitated the enterprise. But scarcely had the troops of the pasha entered their villages, when they began to rob and plunder, to massacre the men, and to abuse the women. Their women and children were dragged to the camp of the ser-asker, and sold by auction for slaves. Demetrius Athenasius, a Christian, interceded with Khoorsheed in their favour, and obtained an order for their liberation; but the soldiers refused to give them up, and the ser-asker paid 150 pistoles a-head for them out of his own money, and restored 500 persons to liberty.

This act of humanity was speedily followed by the imprisonment and torture of the primates of Calavrita, accused of having received a large sum of money in deposit from Ali Pasha. The vizir had ordered them for execution, the rope was about their necks, when Omer Briones, hearing of their situation, went to the ser-asker, as-

sured him of their innocence, and representing the danger of putting them to death in the present state of affairs, obtained an order to save them.

“Then,” said one of them who told the event, “then we were instantly set at liberty ; and, by one of those contrasts so common in Turkey, the executioners invite us to take refreshments. The master had spoken—they show us the same degree of civility as they had hitherto done of ferocity, and the hand which was to have strangled us, now humbly presented us with coffee. They did not forget to hold it out for a present, the price of the cord, of their trouble, and of our clothes, which they were to have had, all which we gave them, glad to be off for a little agony and money, which is nothing when one comes back from the gates of death to witness the chastisement of his oppressors.”\*

Khoorsheed, having now heard of the suppression of the insurrection in Valachia, and of the massacres at Constantinople, resolved to proceed with vigour against the Christians. A bishop, lately appointed to the see of Hieromeri, having landed at Arta, was seized, and he and his deacon hanged before the tent of the ser-asker. Several others of the clergy experienced the same fate a few days afterwards, and the prisons were filled with prelates and other dignitaries of the church.

The ser-asker, neglecting Ali Tebelin, turned his thoughts towards the best mode of destroying the various bodies of armatoles, or Klephts,

\* Pouqueville.



who maintained themselves in the mountains of Greece. The number of these men was considerable ; but they were scattered over a large surface, and they might, it was thought, be destroyed in detail, by bringing a superior force to act against their separate bands. He fixed on Ætolia as the first scene of his operations. A governor was appointed for that province, who wrote from Arta to the Ætolian primates, informing them that he intended to fix his residence at Vrachori, with 350 men, to watch over the tranquillity of the country. In their reply, they begged him to bring as few men as possible ; and, to show his good intentions, he came with but 150. Three or four captains of the *armatoles* came at the head of 400 of their men to salute him. They then retired to their mountains ; and the governor gradually increased his force to 800 men.

The presence of such a number of Turks was both odious and oppressive to the people, and the primates applied in vain to be relieved from them. The Klephts, seeing the gradual increase of the Turkish force, put themselves on the defensive, so that the governor was unable to employ the stratagems which were meditated against them. The excesses of his soldiery forced the people of the plain to fly to the mountains ; the villages were deserted, and the governor found it necessary to lay the whole state of affairs before the *ser-asker*, recommending him, at the same time, to send 3000 or 4000 men, and massacre the people before they joined in the insurrection of Livadia and the Morea.

The Klephts intercepted the courier who was

the bearer of this dispatch, and they resolved to persevere in the system which they had adopted. This conduct the Turks ascribed to cowardice, and they prepared to attack them. The Klephts, in a council of war, determined to repel force by force, but, in order to cast the odium of aggression on the Turks, not to pursue them beyond the mountains.

But before long a Turkish officer, named Ismail Piassa, arrived at Arta with a division of 1500 men, which he was leading to Vrakhorì. With the usual arrogance and want of foresight of a Turk, he sent to inform the Ætolian primates of the order of his march to that town. This information was speedily communicated to the Klephts; and Varnakiotis, one of their captains, whose services had been rejected by Khoorsheed, eagerly caught at an opportunity of revenge. Taking with him 150 brave palicares, he placed himself in ambush at the Makron Oros, and, attacking the enemy by surprise, drove him back to Arta, with a loss of 370 men. Ismail Piassa made a second attempt to penetrate to Vrakhorì with 2500 men. The Klephts opposed to him 800 palicares, and drove him back once more to Arta, where they kept him, and three vizirs, blocked up for a month. These successes of the Acarnanians made Khoorsheed pause in the course which he was pursuing, and he set at liberty the prelates whom he retained in prison.

Omer Briones had, meantime, undertaken the task of crushing the rebellion in Livadia. Having joined Mehemet Ali, the new vizir of the Morea, who was at the head of 2500 men in

Thessaly, and being reinforced by some contingents from Macedonia, his entire force amounted to 8000 men. Leaving Mehemet Ali to watch Gooras and Dyovootis, and the Klephts of Mount Othrys, he advanced himself towards Thermopylæ. At Thaumakos he detached a party of 900 men, with directions to cross the Hellada (*Sperchius*), six leagues above the bridge of the same name, and to place themselves in ambush in the woods of Mount Catavothra, in order to take the Greeks in the rear, while he attacked them in front at the ordinary passage of the river.

Diakos, at the head of his 500 palicares, was posted on the right bank of the Hellada, to dispute the passage with Omer Briones, of whose march he was aware. The combat had lasted several hours, when the Christians found themselves attacked in flank by the Turks from Mount Catavothra. Seeing no other hope of escape, they resolved to cut their way through the troops of Omer Briones, who had not yet passed the bridge. They effected their purpose, with the loss of sixty killed and wounded, among whom was the brave Diakos, who was taken and impaled. They made their way through the woods to Parnassus, where they informed Odysseus of the fate of his friend, whose death he vowed to revenge.

Omer Briones, who had lost 600 men at the passage of the Sperchius, having delayed some time to pay the last duties to them, and having placed a garrison in the khan of Hellada, proceeded to Botonitza, where he halted for a week.

He then advanced towards the Mavronero (*Cephisus*), his march being directed along a line passing midway between Salona and Livadia. Odysseus, who knew of the defeat of Ismaïl Piassa, and that Mehemet Ali had been repulsed by the bands of Mount Othrys, came down, on the 20th May, at sunset, from the heights of Mount Lyacoora (*Lycoreia*) into the plain of Bœotia, and took his post, with 700 men, at Panopea, on that river, where, next morning, he attacked and repulsed Omer Briones. Odysseus, anxious to cover the town of Livadia, fell back to Capoornia (*Chæronea*), where, after a conflict, sustained till night, he was obliged to give way, and retire with loss.

These two engagements had cost the Turks 700, the Greeks 172 men. Omer was, however, reinforced by 1500 Turks of Bœotia, and he advanced rapidly towards Livadia. Odysseus, who was joined by the palicares of Diakos, 200 men from Amphissa, 100 of the men of Mount Tithoreäs, and the *levées en masse* of Cocla (*Platea*), Castro (*Delphi*), and Arakhova, appeared at the head of 2500 men, in sight of the field of battle which he had lost two evenings before. With loud cries of *Kyrie Eleison*, they fell on the astonished Turks, whom Omer Briones in vain animated by voice and by example. They were driven over the Cephisus. The village of Toorki-Khori, in their rear, having been occupied by the Christians, Omer Briones was forced to take the road to Talanti, and thence to Bodonitza, where he was besieged by a thousand of the peasants of Bœotia, while Odysseus

returned to the defence of Lidoriki and Malandrino against the Turks of Salona.\*

Odysseus was now at the head of 5000 men ; for, after his victory over Omer Briones, the Greeks hastened from all sides to join him. He attacked the castle of Arakhova, and massacred its garrison of 150 Turks. Passing through the territory of the ancient Crissa, on their way to Salona, the Greeks learned that the Turks of that place had murdered the bishop of that see, and had taken refuge in the castle of Amphissa. A party, commanded by a chief named Panoorios, laid siege to them ; and after twelve days, carried the place by assault, and put to death all who were in it, except a bey and his family, who turned Christians.

The inhabitants of the whole of ancient Doris, Loeris, and Ætolia-Epiktetos, now cast off the Turkish yoke. Mesolonghi and Anatolico followed their example. The crescent was everywhere cast down from the summit of the mosques ; the cap of the raya was flung aside, and the ancient name of Ephoros was adopted for that of coja-bashee.

Khoorsheed pasha, having sent orders to Bekir Jocador, the governor of Prevesa, to fall on the rear of Varnikiotis, who was blockading Arta, resolved to make every effort to reduce Ali Pasha, that he might be able to turn his entire force against the Greeks. Accordingly, on

\* M. Pouqueville is so anxious to make a hero of Odysseus, that whatever he relates of him must be received with suspicion. As M. Raybaud asserts that Odysseus was constantly defeated, we must express our doubt of these victories.

the 5th June, he opened a heavy fire against the south side of the castle of Litharitzza, and having made a breach, the assault was ordered for the 8th, in the morning. The troops marched boldly to the attack; after an hour's warm fighting, Ali, carried in a handbarrow, on account of the gout, headed a sortie, and drove them within their lines, with a loss of 300 men. "The bear of Pindus is still alive," was his message to Khoorsheed. "You may send and take your dead to bury them; I give them to you without ransom, and will do so as long as you attack me like a brave man."

Bekir Jocardor had failed in his attempts to make a diversion, and the Greeks began to extend their plundering parties to the vicinity of the camp of the ser-asker, whose horses Mark Botzaris had even carried away from the village of Variades.

The Valachians, who inhabited the town of Calavrita, wearied out by the expense of supporting a garrison of 480 Turks, secretly admitted 200 of the revolted Greeks into the town. The Turks were besieged in some strong houses which they occupied. After defending themselves for ten days, they capitulated, on condition of being allowed to retire with their arms and baggage to Jannina. The protopapas (*vicar*) of the town, and eight of the principal persons, were sent to escort them. As they were descending Mount Polganos, they met a corps of 2000 Turks, whom Khoorsheed had sent to their aid; these instantly murdered the priest and five of his companions, and returned to attack the town. The Klephts fled at their

approach. The inhabitants, reduced to despair, resolved to defend themselves against them ; and sixty men, concealing themselves in a quarter of the town which overhangs the precipices which bound it on the south, kept the enemy in check, till the whole of the people had had time to gain the steeps of Mount Baros, and in the night the entire population of Calavrita, men, women, and children, journeyed over the mountains by torch-light to the valley of the Acheloüs.

The neighbouring town of Syraco, at the exhortation of Coletti, one of its principal inhabitants, followed the example of Calavrita. Setting fire to their houses, the people betook themselves to the mountains, and went on till they had joined the Calavritiotes. They formed different camps to collect the people of the villages, and, after wandering about during twenty-five days, arrived, with their cattle, amounting to 81,000 head, in the forests of Ætolia. Coletti passed over to the Morea ; some of the more wealthy families sought shelter in the Ionian Islands.

Omer Briones dispersed the Greek forces which were opposed to him, and led his troops to Athens. The Christian inhabitants fled at his approach to the island of Salamis. Omer, after having stopped there a few days, leaving a sufficient number of men to defend the acropolis, set out on his return to Epirus.

## CHAPTER XV.

*A Hydraote squadron appears off Patras—Corinth liberated by Yoosoof—The Lalaotes retire to Patras—Successes of the Greeks—Battle of Valtetzi—Arrival of D. Hypsilantis—Disputes between him and the primates—The foreigners in Greece.*

ON the 1st June, a small Hydraote squadron made its appearance in the gulf of Patras. That of the capitana-bey, though much superior in force, immediately weighed anchor, and made for the Little Dardanelles, whither it was pursued by the Greeks. Next day, another Greek squadron arrived; and the Grecian fleet now rode triumphant in the bay of the Halcyons. The presence of the fleet gave additional courage to the Greeks of Ætolia, and a body of 6000 men crossed Mount Aracynthus, and entered Vrakhorì, where they set fire to the mosques and the Turkish quarter. The Turks and the Jews fortified themselves in the house of the voivode. After they had consumed all their provisions, they offered to capitulate; the only terms they could obtain were security for their lives. They were pronounced to be rayas, and were led, with cotton caps on their heads, to labour at the public works in the isle of Anatólico. The Mohammedans of Zepardi having submitted on the same conditions, the whole of Ætolia was now in the hands of the Greeks.

The Hydraotes having landed men and cannon, the castle of Patras was closely pressed, but in-



formation having fallen into their hands which made them apprehensive of the hostility of the English, it was deemed prudent to quit these seas, and return home. The Cambrian frigate soon appeared off Patras, and two transports, under her convoy, landed gunpowder and provisions for the Turkish garrison. She then sailed up the gulf, and liberated some Turkish vessels which were on the point of being captured. Yoosoof pasha now felt himself enabled to resume active hostilities against the Greeks.\*

His first object was to relieve the citadel of Corinth, which was blockaded by the Greeks. Having embarked with 1200 men, he sailed a whole night up the gulf, and next morning, having hoisted the banner of the cross, landed without opposition at Leeke. The Greeks, who had taken them for Hydraotes, on perceiving their error, went down to the beach, where they kept them in check till their friends in the town had had time to set fire to the palace of Kya-mil-bey, and a part of the lower town. The whole of the Greeks then fled, and secured themselves in the mountains of the Isthmus, whither the Turks would not venture to pursue them.

\* Pouqueville.—The antipathy of this writer to the English is so notorious, that his statements respecting them must always be received with extreme diffidence. It is, however, a matter of certainty, that at this period many of the English were hostile to the Greeks, and used every means, both fair and unfair, to thwart and depress them. M. de Pouqueville says, that the Hydraotes, having searched two Zanthiote boats, found in the handle of an oar, belonging to one of them, a letter to Yoosoof pasha, which revealed their secret designs, and that they hanged a man whom they found to be a spy of the English.

Yoosoof, on his return to Patras, learning the distressed state of the Lalaotes, prepared to march to their relief.

When the intelligence of the raising of the standard of the cross in the Morea reached the Seven Isles, a considerable degree of enthusiasm was excited, and the most lively sympathy prevailed for those who had ventured to make head against their tyrants. The people of Zante, Cephalonia, and the neighbouring islands, contributed freely both money and stores; and a gentleman of Cephalonia, named Andrew Metaxas, having obtained the permission of the British authorities to fit out a few vessels for the protection of the Patrean refugees, embarked with about 500 or 600 men, and landed in Elis, about the time that Procopius was engaging the people of that country to retire to the mountains.

As Metaxas had sent away those who did not wish to share in the dangers of his enterprise, he landed with but 350 men, and four small pieces of cannon. Such a number, however, of Ionian exiles soon flocked to his standard, that he found himself at the head of 1500 men, and being joined by the people of the country, he advanced against the Lalaotes, the plunderers and oppressors of the country. These Mussulmans had, by orders of the kiaya-bey, burnt the village of Yoolinitza, and they were advancing to destroy that of Valtetzi, when the approach of Metaxas stopped them, and forced them to retire to Lala, where they were shut up by the continually augmenting forces of the Greeks. On the 18th June, they went to Yoo-soof pasha, for aid to enable them to retire to

Patras with their families, as they had no hopes of being able to maintain themselves in their present position. The following day, a bloody but undecisive engagement took place, in which Metaxas was wounded. A few days afterwards, Yoosoof pasha forced his way to Lala with 2000 men; and, all things being prepared, the entire population, having set fire to the town in different parts, abandoned it on the 29th June.

The distance from Lala to Patras is about twenty-four hours when there are no impediments to be surmounted. Yoosoof took the command of the advanced guard, the women, children, and cattle, were placed in the centre, and the Lalaotes brought up the rear. After a toilsome march of six days, during which they were incessantly harassed by the Greeks, the whole train, with 8000 horned cattle, arrived at Patras. They had with them sacks of heads and ears, collected on different occasions, and thirty Zanthote peasants whom they had picked up on their way, who were forthwith impaled by order of Yoosoof pasha.

Disputes soon broke out between the Lalaotes and the pasha; the former turned their cattle out to feed in the vineyards which produce the currants, that were now ripening, and had been already sold to the Franks. Representations were instantly made to the pasha. He tried in vain to restrain the excesses of the Lalaotes, who, advancing in audacity, next demanded houses to live in; and as the town had been destroyed, Yoosoof admitted them into the citadel, whence they soon contrived to expel most of the other Turks, who, leaving the castle

in their hands, were obliged to pass over to Lé-panto, where they were soon blocked up by their old foes the Greeks.

In the other parts of the Morea, the Greeks were beleaguering the fortresses. The first which surrendered was that of Arcadia, which overhangs the bay of that name. A part of its garrison made their escape to Navarino, the remainder were escorted to Tripolitza by the Greeks. Philatra and Gargaliano were occupied by the Greeks, who next blockaded Navarino, where Idris-bey, the commandant, had hanged several of the clergy of the town and its neighbourhood, and thus put an end to all hopes of accommodation. The Christians of Modon joined the camp before Navarino, and watched the motions of the valiant Turks of Coron, who did not quit their fields till the Maniotes descended from their mountains. These last, however, came rather to plunder than to fight: they fled before the Turks; they robbed the Christians of their property, to save it, they said, from falling into the hands of the infidels.

The kiaya-bey, who had arranged with the Lalaotes those measures for the destruction of the Greeks at Valtetzi, which had been disconcerted by the arrival of Metaxas and his men, advanced, ignorant of what had happened, at the head of 5000 men, to attack the Greeks there, commanded by Colocotronis and Anagnostáras. The Greeks were posted in the mountains in parties of 400 or 500 men, and they kept up their correspondence by night, by means of large fires for signals. At the close of the day, the Turks came and encamped before them, cer-

tain of victory, and looking for the appearance of the Lalaotes.

Tired of waiting for their confederates, the Turks resolved to act alone. They carried, with considerable loss, some positions which defended the approaches of the village. When they reached the last hastily thrown up intrenchments, they were received by a heavy and well-sustained fire. The conflict lasted for several hours; at length the Turks, dispirited by seeing the numbers of their enemies increase every moment, retired. The Greeks pursued them all the evening, and killed a great number of them. This victory, the first gained by the Maniotes, gave them confidence in themselves; they had put to flight those before whom they were used to tremble. They now came and encamped on the heights to the southwest of Tripolitza.\*

On the 5th June, the deputies composing the provisional government of the Morea, met at the monastery of Caltizi, and nominated seven of their members to have the supreme direction of affairs, till the taking of Tripolitza, when other arrangements might be made.

In the beginning of June, Demetrius Hypsilantis, the brother of the unfortunate Alexander, arrived in Greece. He had, by means of disguise, eluded the vigilance of the Austrian police, had embarked at Trieste, and landed at Hydra, accompanied by Gregory Cantacuzena. Other patriotic Greeks, who were following him, were detained by the British authorities at Ce-

\* Raybaud. This sensible and judicious writer will be our principal guide to the end of the year 1823.

phalonia. Being regarded as the agent of Russia, to whom the Greeks still fondly looked for aid and protection, he was received at Hydra with salutes of artillery, and every demonstration of joy; and after a stay there of nine or ten days, he proceeded to Astros, in the Morea, where the primates, the priests, and the soldiery hastened to meet him; the women spread carpets in his way, and strewed the streets with laurels. All readily acknowledged him as the *Archi-strategos* (the title which had been given him at Hydra) of the Morea, the isles, and the other revolted provinces. The procession, on its return, halted at Vervena, a village in the mountains east of Tripolitza, distant five leagues from that town, and at that time the head-quarters of the Greek forces. Hypsilantis alighted before the church, and the clergy bestowed on him their benedictions. Mavromichális, who was waiting there for him, embraced him, saying, "My prince, my family and myself are ready to shed our blood for our country and for your highness!"\*

D. Hypsilantis was about twenty-six years of age; his form was small and slender, his head bald, his voice thin and nasal, his manners stiff and cold, but he possessed the soul of a hero; he was brave, disinterested, and honourable, and his military talents were, notwithstanding his youth, by no means despicable. He was altogether one of the most estimable characters which appeared during the struggle for independence.

The next morning, a general assembly was

\* M. Raybaud.

held in the open air, in which Hypsilantis read the letters of his brother to the primates of the Morea. His secretary, the deacon Vamvas, then delivered a patriotic discourse, which strongly affected all present. There were many, however, of the primates and captains, who either found their private views impeded by the authority which he claimed, or thought that they discovered in his orders, though he signed them only as *Lieutenant of the Commissioner-General*, too great a degree of assumption. This suspicion was augmented by the airs which the young men who came in his suite gave themselves, treating the rugged warriors of the Morea with that supercilious insolence, and tone of fancied superiority, which characterise the professed courtier.

Hypsilantis was anxious to get rid of the provisional senate. With this view, he proposed to the primates, for their acceptance, a sort of charter, consisting of twenty-four articles. By one of these, he formally reserved to himself the *supreme* and *absolute* command of the army. The jealousy and suspicion of the primates were excited; they openly declared that they would have no *Russian* tyranny; and they insisted on the maintenance of the democracy, by which they understood the oligarchy of the powerful families.

A man named Candioti was the bearer of the prince's *ultimatum* to the primates, in which he declared, that if they did not accept what he proposed, he would leave them, and go to Epirus, whither he was invited by pressing letters. Candioti added of himself, that if they continued

refractory, the prince would bring ten thousand bayonets from Russia to reduce them to order. This bravado had an effect the very opposite of what it was intended to produce, and the primates gave a positive refusal. Hypsilantis gave out that he would proceed to Calamata, and embark for Epirus. The primates were a whole day without going near him ; in the evening, they went to wait on him, but found him and his attendants mounted and ready to set out. They made no opposition to his departure. After passing the whole night in seeking their way through dreary woods and mountains, a long miserable roads, the prince and his suite arrived in the morning at Londari, a town distant about seven leagues from Tripolitza. He was resuming his journey, when he was overtaken by the old captain Anagnostaras, who had been dispatched by the senate to entreat him to return ; for the primates had been terrified by the murmurs of the people, the troops having threatened to disband, if the *Lord* was not there to command them. One cause of this affection of the troops for him was, probably, their knowledge of the funds which he had at his disposal, arising from the portion of his sister Maria, and the voluntary contributions of the Hetairists. Hypsilantis, whose departure was, perhaps, nothing more than a feint, readily consented to return, and his reappearance in the camp caused the most lively demonstrations of joy among the soldiers and the people.

The assumptions of D. Hypsilantis, like those of his brother Alexander, were undoubtedly too high, and betrayed an ignorance of the selfish,



interested character of the greater part of those through whose efforts alone success against the enemy was to be expected. The opposition of the primates to him was not so utterly unreasonable as his advocates would represent it to be ; for they might very naturally ask by what right he claimed the supreme authority over them, or what he had done more than they for the common cause ? His strongest support was the favour of the people, who knew the characters of their chiefs, and the necessity of some one to control them.

Hypsilantis, on his landing in the Morea, had, in virtue of the powers which he claimed as commander-in-chief, appointed George Typaldos, a native of Cephalonia, who had been one of the companions of his journey, to take the command of the troops blockading Navarino, and sent A. Cantacuzena, for the same purpose, to the camp of the Maniotes, who were besieging Monemvasia, or Napoli de Malvoisie.

Some French and Germans, military men, and classic enthusiasts, had accompanied Hypsilantis and Cantacuzena to Greece, and several others arrived in the course of the summer. None of these men had any previous accurate ideas of the actual state of the Greeks, of the ignorance, barbarity, ferocity, and timidity produced by the debasing influence of centuries of slavery, of the venomous animosity existing between them and the Turks, of the total want of everything connected with civilized warfare, and of the extreme toils and privations which were to be undergone by those who came to aid their cause. Hence many soon retired in disgust from

the society of those whom their imagination had painted in the colours of the heroes of Plutarch, and their reports tended to do disservice to the Hellenic cause in Europe. One of the first efforts of these European auxiliaries had been to establish a newspaper (*The Hellenic Trumpet*) at Calamata. The remark of Kyriacooli the Maniote, "Our ancestors needed not journals to transmit to posterity the memory of the battles of Marathon, Salamis, and Plataea—we must conquer before we discuss," sufficed to show the modes of thinking of the descendants of the compatriots of Leonidas and Pausanias.\*

We shall not at present stop to narrate any of the particulars of the sieges of Tripolitza and Monemvasia, to which we shall presently return, and relate them consecutively. In concluding this chapter, we will again observe, that the population of the twenty cantons into which the Morea was divided amounted to 460,000 souls, of which not more than a fifth was Turkish; that the number of these last, in the different strong towns and fortresses, was 55,000, who were besieged by less than 20,000 ill-armed, undisciplined Greeks.†

\* Pouqueville, ii. 585.

† Soutzo, p. 118. Raybaud, i. 297.

## CHAPTER XVI.

*Insurrection in Samos—Turkish ship of the line burnt—  
Destruction of Cydonia—Massacre at Smyrna—Insur-  
rection in Crete—Fruitless attack on Samos—Turkish  
transports burnt—Ineffectual attack on the Turkish fleet  
—Insurrection in Macedonia—Affairs of Western Greece  
—Turkish officers killed by Ali Pasha.*

THE isle of Samos had early joined in the insurrection, and the people had everywhere fallen on and massacred the Turks. A senate was formed to direct the public affairs; 6000 men, able to bear arms, were ready to defend the liberty which they had seized; the Ipsariotes, on being applied to, sent them cannon; and the port of Vathi, at the mouth of the Imbrasos, the only accessible spot on the whole coast of the island, was put into a state of defence. As several of the Samians had been in the Russian and other services, the proposal was made and adopted of disciplining their troops after the European fashion; and 3000 men were regimented, and drilled by those who had acquired some knowledge of European tactics. From the security which its local advantages gave it, Samos became the refuge of the Christians of Asia, whence they were, as from Ipsara, dispersed over the more remote isles. The Samians, to punish the cruelty of the Turks, made various expeditions to the continent, where they defeated all that opposed them, and returned to their

island with booty and prisoners, which last they only dismissed for heavy ransoms.

About the middle of May, a Turkish squadron, composed of one ship of the line, two frigates, three corvettes, and two brigs, commanded by the vice-admiral Mehemet-bey, and manned with galley-slaves from the Bagnio, and vagabonds of all sorts that could be collected, set sail from Constantinople for the Archipelago. After spending several days coasting the basin of the Propontis, and plundering the towns on the Asiatic coast, the fleet, on receiving imperative orders from the Sultan to use dispatch, passed the Dardanelles, and made sail for Imbros. Seeing the Greek squadron, the Turks sailed warily along the isle of Tenedos, and at length cast anchor at the isle of Mitylene.

The Greek fleet was composed of twenty-two Hydraote, nine Spetziote, and seven Ipsariote vessels. Their size, and the smallness of their guns, did not suffer them to entertain hopes of being able to attack the large vessels of the Turks with any certainty of success, and many various plans were discussed in the councils of war which they held. At length, an old Ipsariote captain got up, and said, "In 1770, when the Turkish fleet was lying in the Bay of Tsesmé, the Russians sent against it a sort of fire-ships, and burnt it to ashes. I was one of those who managed those fire-ships; I know how to make them, and I will warrant their success." His suggestion was forthwith adopted. Three old vessels were placed at his disposal, and he converted them into fire-ships. A hundred dollars were promised by the admiral to every man who would

volunteer to navigate these vessels; but men in abundance presented themselves, without asking any recompense.\*

The Turks, finding themselves blockaded by the Greek squadron, directed their ship of the line to make sail for the capital, and hasten the departure of the capitan pasha to their relief. The Greeks, having given time for the Turkish vessel to get out to sea, pursued and surrounded it. The Turk sought refuge at the entrance of the Gulf of Adramythium. One of the fire-ships, commanded by the Ipsariote, Papa Nicholas, escorted by four brigs, advanced to-

\* The following is a good description of the Greek fire-ships, and the mode of managing them:—"An old vessel, but one that can sail well, is selected; every thing valuable is taken out of her; her inside is daubed with a composition of pitch and sulphur, and filled with furze, or light combustibles; several new hatches are cut along the deck on each side, under each of which is placed a small cask of powder; the rigging is well daubed with tar, and the ends of the masts armed with hooks, that they may catch and entangle in the enemy's rigging. When every thing is ready, a train of powder is laid from the combustibles, communicating with each cask of powder, and leading to the stern of the hulk; then, with all sail set, she is run directly for an enemy's ship; the sailors, generally twenty in number, crouch behind the bulwarks, to hide themselves from the shot, and the moment she strikes against the ship meant to be burnt, every man leaps into the boat, which is kept ready, drifting astern. The captain fires the train and follows them, and leaving the hulk, of which every spar, rope, and sail, is in an instant in one broad blaze, to grasp in its fiery embrace the enemy's vessel, they pull rapidly away, with from twenty to thirty oars, and try to gain the vessel appointed to pick them up."—*Howe's Historical Sketch of the Greek Revolution.*

wards the Turkish ship, whose crew, taking it for a brig of war, prepared to attack it. Meantime, the four brigs kept up an incessant fire on them, to engage their attention, and the fire-ship having been attached to her poop, she was soon in a blaze; the Turks got as fast as they could into their boats, to make for the shore, which but two of them reached. The number of those who perished was 550.\* The Turkish vice-admiral, on hearing this disaster, thinking himself no longer safe where he was, put to sea with all expedition, and his fleet, though closely pursued, at length got under the protection of the cannon of the Dardanelles.

It is said† that the Greek admiral had formed the bold plan of an attack on Smyrna, in conjunction with the Samians and the people of Cydonia; and with this view, he directed his course to the latter place, to induce the inhabitants to join in the insurrection.

Cydonia, called by the Turks Aīvali, is situated on the coast of Asia Minor; its population amounted to 35,000 persons, all Greeks, and governed by their own magistrates. It was founded about the middle of the 18th century; it exceeded all the other towns in the regularity of its houses and streets. Its commerce and its manufactures were very considerable, and the manners of its inhabitants were more polished than those of the people of other towns. The Cydonians, though several of their richest mer-

\* Soutzo.—MM. Pouqueville and Raybaud make Sigri or Grizzo, on the west coast of Mitylene, the scene of this action.

† Pouqueville, iii. 14.

chants had already taken refuge at Ipsara, were not, in general, disposed to revolt; but the pasha of Brusa, when he heard of the retreat of the Turkish fleet, being apprehensive of the projects of the Greek commander, sent 3000 men to defend Cydonia against an attack, and, to keep the people in order, if necessary. On the 13th June, the pasha's lieutenant entered the town with 600 men; but the senate, partly by entreaty, partly by force, made him leave it and take his position on a neighbouring eminence. He instantly sent off a courier to the pasha, and next day came 3000 janizaries, with whom he took possession of the principal quarters of the town. The wealthier of the remaining inhabitants had taken refuge on the little isle of Moseonisi, at the entrance of the bay. The population was now reduced to about 18,000 souls, and on the 15th, the Greek squadron of seventy sail came in view. Their first object was to take the Cydonians and their property off the isle of Moseonisi, and remove them to a place of greater safety. The Turks offered no impediment even to the people who remained in the town, to depart. Emboldened by this timid and unusual conduct of the Turks, the Greek mariners resolved to land and attack them. At nine o'clock in the morning, a crowd of boats put off, and landed their men on the mole; the Turks, from the neighbouring houses, maintained an obstinate resistance, but were at length driven into the town, which they set fire to in several places. The contest lasted till night: the loss of the Turks was 500 men, that of the Greeks about 200. The remaining part of the inhabitants who had

taken share in the engagement, hastened to get on board the Greek boats; the flames spread rapidly, and soon Cydonia was a heap of ashes, and her entire population on board the Grecian fleet. The ships were so crowded, that the admiral's vessel, the Themistocles, had, besides her crew, 800 Cydonians on board. Fortunately, four vessels arrived from Hydra, and in some measure removed the inconvenience which the fleet suffered by being thus heavily laden.

About this time, the Hydraotes had sent another fleet of sixteen sail to sea, which we have already seen acting in the Gulf of Lépanto. The squadron of James Tombasis, after landing the Cydonians at Ipsara, made a second cruize to the mouth of the Dardanelles, and returned to Hydra, where they arrived on the 25th June.

The insurrection of Samos, and the successes of the Greek fleet, had roused the fanatic spirit of the Turks of Smyrna, where a number of innocent Greeks became the victims of their fury. The European consuls and commanders of vessels exerted themselves most laudably in saving the wretched Greeks from the daggers of the fanatic Moslems. But it is asserted\* that the ministers of the Christian powers at Constantinople authorized the officers of the Porte to search the European vessels, and thus cut off the Greeks from this refuge from destruction. These orders were forwarded to the different consuls, and the French consul of Smyrna soon saw himself compelled to act on them.

\* Raffenel. Pouqueville.



A Sardinian vessel, under the French flag, was lying in the roads beside some French ships. The captain had taken 250 Greeks on board, who had paid him handsomely for aiding their escape. He put to sea, intending to land them at Tino. An Algerine sloop of war was dispatched by the pasha in pursuit of him, and forced him to take refuge under the protection of the French frigate the *Joan of Arc*, whose captain, not knowing any thing of the treaty to which the Algerine appealed, refused to let him touch the Sardinian. He went to inform the French consul of what had occurred, and, meantime, received all the Greek passengers on board of the frigate. The consul, after some interviews with the pasha, found himself obliged to send directions to the captain of the frigate to put the Sardinian vessel into the hands of the Turks, and to send the crew and passengers to the consulate. All was done as desired, and all who had been on board of her, as well crew as passengers, were delivered by the consul to the pasha, who promised that nothing should be done to them. Letters were written on both sides to Constantinople, to learn what should be the decision of the divan. Any uncertainty which might have prevailed on the subject, was, however, at an end in a few days, when it was known that all the persons placed in the hands of the pasha had been put to death !

It may appear severe to blame the European governments for not taking the side of the rebels against the Porte,—and nothing could be more pernicious than the maxim of the right of strangers to interfere between a prince and his

subjects,—but, in truth, the ordinary rules of public law cannot apply to such faithless, inhuman barbarians, as the Ottomans. In the present case, had rebels (which the Smyrna Greeks were not) been given up to a civilized government, there would have been some chance of their being admitted to make their defence and prove their innocence. But giving up Greeks to the Turks was, in fact, delivering them to the executioner—was becoming accomplices in their murder, for they were certain of death the moment they fell into the hands of their tyrants. The justest and best neutrality, perhaps, which the Christian powers could have kept, would have been that of giving refuge to each party from the fury of the other.

During the month of June, the Turks of Crete, who are esteemed the most sanguinary and fanatical in the empire, had murdered a great number of the Greeks; and on the 24th of the month, after making a general massacre of the Christians in Canea, they sent to summon the independent tribes of the south of the isle to give up their arms.

The mountains which run east and west along the southern coast of the isle of Crete, have, owing to their inaccessibleness, been at all periods the abode of liberty. The Greek inhabitants of them are called Sphakiotes, from the name of the district in which they dwell, which has a port of the same name, Sphakia, opposite the coast of Africa, and only a few leagues distant from the town of Rhetimos. The Sphakiotes had maintained a total independence till the year 1770, when, having joined the Rus-

sians, a corps of 15,000 Turks penetrated their mountains, and forced them to engage to supply ice and snow in the summer to the towns of Rhetimos and Canea, and each winter some bags of the celebrated chestnuts of their mountains, as an acknowledgment of the Sultan's superiority. A tribe of Mohammedans, called Abadiotes, and said to be the descendants of the Saracens, who possessed the isle in the ninth century, are the neighbours, and usually the enemies, of the Sphakiotes in these mountains.

The elders of Sphakia, on learning the designs of the Turks, resolved on resistance; to strengthen themselves, they sent deputies to the Abadiotes, to represent to them that the common liberty of the people of the mountains was endangered, and to pray of them to forget all former feuds and enmities, and to join with them in its defence. The Abadiotes lent a willing ear to their arguments, and bread and salt, and the flesh of goats, were eaten together by both parties, in testimony of union and amity. An answer was meantime sent to the demand of the pasha of Canea, signifying that they could not comply with it, but were willing to unite with him for the defence of their common country. They soon, however, learned that the pashas of Canea, Rhetimos, and Candia, were uniting their forces with the intention of attacking them. They instantly dispatched two of their barks, laden with oil, honey, and wax, to be sold at Malta, and the proceeds laid out in the purchase of arms and ammunition; and directed the crews to inform the traders there, that there

were abundance of commodities ready to be sold for that kind of goods.\*

A number of Sphakiotes, dwelling in Asia Minor, had been assembled by a brave young man, named Antony Melidonos, and had returned to Sphakia under his command. The vizir of Canea, on learning his arrival, being aware of his talents and influence, sent a renegade to endeavour to corrupt him. Melidonos, taking the envoy aside, told him to inform him who had sent him, that, instead of the ordinary tribute, he must, in future, look to receiving nothing but musket balls and fragments of rock from the mountains of Sphakia. Next day, the rebellion was proclaimed through all the district.†

The Sphakiotes proposed to raise the Greek inhabitants of the remainder of the island, who, they calculated, might furnish them 20,000 men capable of bearing arms. With this view, 900 of them, led by Melidonos and others, crossed Mount Ida, and descending into the plains inhabited by the Turks, advanced towards Canea, the ancient Cydon. The Turks of this town came out to meet them; the action took place on the 2d July; the infidels were put to flight at the first discharge, leaving their dead, whom the victors burnt on the field of battle: they were equally unsuccessful on the 6th, after which they were forced to shut themselves up within Canea. The Greeks ran to arms on all sides; and the Turks were obliged to confine themselves within the walls of the towns, where they

\* Pou queville.

† Soutzo.

made the unfortunate Greek inhabitants feel their vengeance.

At Stanchio, the ancient Cos, 900 Christians were, in spite of the efforts of the pasha, massacred by the fanatic Moslems. At Rhodes, the Turks, when they heard that the Greek cruizers had cast a number of hajjees, going to Mecca, into the sea, rose and slaughtered 3000 persons of all ranks; a fourth of the Greek population of the isle.\*

The Turkish fleet, commanded by Kara Ali, the capitan-pasha, in person, was now under sail for Samos, with orders to put to death all the male inhabitants above the age of eight years. A land army, under the command of Elez Aga, the hereditary prince of Caria, was to be landed on the island to carry the commands of the Sultan into execution. This army, composed of wild, ferocious Asiatics, was appointed to rendezvous at Khoozadah, or Scala Nova, a town near the mouth of the Caÿster, in the Gulf of Ephesus. On their way thither they plundered the villages, and massacred the peasantry; at Scala Nova, the presence of Elez Aga kept their sanguinary propensities under restraint till the arrival of a body of ferocious ruffians, whom the government of Smyrna, anxious to get rid of them, had encouraged to go share in the massacre and plunder of the *jowers* of Samos. For some days, the firmness and vigour of Elez Aga, who hanged the first of them who began to plunder, and whose faithful troops drove them

\* The entire population was 37,000, of which, 12,000 were Greeks, 1000 Jews, the remainder Turks.

out of the town, protected the inhabitants ; but new swarms arriving, they broke through all restraints—massacred the people—burnt the town ; and then disbanding, retired up the country with their plunder and their slaves. The Sultan laid hold on this pretext for banishing Elez Aga to Chios, and seizing his territory, which he turned to a Sanjac, by which means he had the appointment and removal of the governor in his own power. It was something like the Roman system of converting countries into provinces ; and the just and moderate rule of the worthy Elez Aga gave way to the rapacity of a pasha, who purchased his place, and would, of course, make the people pay for it.\*

On the 14th July, the capitan-pasha passed the Dardanelles, with four sail of the line, five frigates, and twelve corvettes and brigs. His fleet sailed in two divisions, and united on the 17th off the isle of Samos. Having taken on board such troops as he could collect from Scala Nova, he resolved to try a *coup-de-main* against the port of Vathi. The Samiotes suffered some hundreds of his men to land, and advance till they were out of reach of the cannon of the ships, and then attacked and destroyed the whole of them ; the boats, which were advancing with reinforcements, instantly put back to the fleet ; and after wasting powder against the rocks of Samos, the capitan-pasha sent several of his vessels to the coast of Asia for fresh troops.

The Greek fleet of 110 sail of vessels, carrying from sixteen to eighteen guns, was in the vicini-

\* Pouqueville.

ty, and immediately made sail in pursuit of these Turkish ships. On coming in sight of the harbour of Tzanakli, the Greeks saw eight Turkish transports coming out of it; the Turks, perceiving the Greeks, put back; the Greeks, sending some of their vessels after them, landed a party to seize some batteries raised before a camp which the Turks had in this place. The troops who were on board the transports, landed and posted themselves in a wood, whence they kept up a smart fire of musketry; they were, however, soon driven from it by the grape-shot from the Greek ships, and some of the boats of the squadron then approached the transports without any danger, and burnt them. The enemy's book of signals fell on this occasion into the possession of the Greeks.

The Greek squadron, having entered the canal of Samos to reconnoitre the Turkish fleet, saw it sailing towards the south; for it had orders to effect a junction with that of Mehemet Ali, pasha of Egypt, which was lying at Rhodes—consisted of fourteen sail, having 2000 Albanians on board. A council was held by the Greek captains, in which it was debated whether, and how, they should venture to attack an enemy so superior in force. The salvation of Greece, they knew, depended, in a great measure, on their fleet, and it consequently behoved them to be extremely cautious how they hazarded it unnecessarily; on the other hand, it was of the utmost importance to endeavour to do some injury to that of the Ottomans. All finally acceded to the opinion of the navarch Tombasis, which was, to divide the squadron into four di-

visions, the Hydraote ships to form the first two, the Spetziote and Ipsariote the remaining two divisions, and each to have in it two fire-ships. These four divisions were to be directed against the four ships of the line of the enemy.

In this order, the squadron sailed from Colones, where it had anchored, and came up with the enemy off the Isle of Cos ; but just as the Greeks were putting off their fireships, the wind changed and blew in their faces. The Turks, taking advantage of their confusion, gave chase, discharging their artillery with great fury. Three of the fire-ships were abandoned and set fire to by their crews ; a fourth fell into the hands of the enemy after its crew had left it.

The Greeks returned to Colones, and landed some military stores for the Samians ; and then, not discouraged at hearing of the junction of the Turkish and Egyptian fleets, they sailed to Patmos, where the patriarch of Alexandria, who had sought refuge there, gave them his benediction, and took a seat in their council. It was resolved to go again in quest of the enemy. The squadron was now disposed in two divisions, with the fire-ships in their centre. On coming up with the combined fleet, another ineffectual attempt was made with the fire-ships, some of which were lost, owing to the disobedience to orders of some of the captains, in consequence of which, but a part of the fleet was engaged ; and nothing but the cowardice or ignorance of the Turks prevented their taking advantage of the confusion which ensued. The two fleets remained for several days in sight of each other, without either attempting any thing. The



Turkish fleet then made sail for the Morea, and having re-victualled Coron and Modon, it arrived, on the 27th August, off Patras.

The peasantry in Macedonia participated in the general spirit of insurrection against the Turks : they assembled in arms, under the guidance of a captain named Manuel Papas ; the Turks and Jews of Salonica advanced into the plain to meet them, and after a conflict of some hours, the Greeks were forced to retire, leaving their dead and wounded in the hands of the enemy. Ahmed, bey of Yenijáh, having received some reinforcements of troops, went over the country, burning the villages and massacring the peasantry. At Vasilica, he met an obstinate resistance ; and at Polyhieros, the Greeks, despairing of safety, sold their lives at the rate of one for four of those of the enemy present.

The Greeks, flying before Ahmed-bey, took refuge in the peninsula of Cassandria, the ancient Pallene. They dug a fosse, and threw up some intrenchments across the narrowest part of the peninsula, at the town of Pinaca ; the Ipsarians sent them some cannon ; and the brave captain Diamantes landed with 500 Albanian palicares to aid them, from Bœotia, in the end of June. On the 4th of July, he reached Pinaca, just as Yoosoof pasha, who had been sent to replace Ahmed-bey, was preparing to attack the works of the Greeks.

The troops of Yoosoof, though twice repulsed, succeeded in a third attempt at forcing a passage into the peninsula. They were advancing towards Pinaca, when they were received by so smart a discharge of musketry, that the

vanguard fell back on the centre. Diamantes was making a movement to get between them and the trench which was behind them, when a cry of "Run! run!" was heard in their ranks. They were seized with a panic, and fled, leaving 500 men dead; and seven standards, and several chests of ammunition, fell into the hands of the Greeks. Yoosoof still continued to block up the entrance of the peninsula; and as he suspected the Albanians in his army of being well affected towards the enemy, and of having raised the cry of "Run! run!" to which he attributed, in a great measure, the repulse which he had met with, he discharged them. But this only increased the evil. They had hardly left his camp, when they joined a number of depredators, who harassed him, and cut off all his communications with Salonica, which was twenty leagues distant; and as the Greeks were masters of the sea in those parts, his position became extremely embarrassing.

In Thessaly, Mahmood pasha was closely pressed by the troops of Klephts from the surrounding mountains, and he was incessant in his applications for reinforcements. Thus in all quarters the Christian inhabitants of Greece and the isles were, at the end of June 1821, in total or partial insurrection against their Mohammedan masters, and so far compromised, that their only hopes of safety lay in victory.

Khoorsheed pasha meantime determined on making another attempt at reducing Acarnania. He had succeeded in relieving Arta, in which he had placed, as governor, Hassan pasha; and he now bent his efforts towards recovering the

castles of Playa and Teke, which the Greeks had held for the last two months. He accordingly ordered his selictar to set out with 3000 men, and to take an equal number from Arta; these were to be joined by a division from Prevesa, and the whole to march against the two castles, which were in such a state as to be almost incapable of defence.

On the 15th July, the army of the selictar was discovered near the village of Combati by the Greek advanced guards. An action immediately commenced; the troops of the selictar were speedily routed, and himself slain. The Greeks pushed their advantage, and occupied the mountains in the vicinity of Arta; and a chief, named Yanoki, having posted himself in the defile of Koomkhadez, Khoorsheed was once more cut off from communication with the south of Epirus.

It was now the month of Ramazan, during which the nations of Mohammedan faith usually abstain from war, according to the usage of the Arabs and the neighbouring people, even as early as the days of Moses. Khoorsheed was therefore obliged to suspend his operations till the fast should have expired; and even Ali Tebelin seemed to respect the rights of custom and of religion. During the kind of truce which took place, his soldiers mingled with the advanced guards of the enemy, several of whose plans thus came to his knowledge.

Among other things, he learned that the staff of the ser-asker, in reliance on the sanctity of the festival of the Baïram, intended to repair to the great mosque of Loocta, the only one in

Jannina which had escaped the conflagrations. Ali gave out that he was very far from wishing to disturb or impede the devotions of the faithful, and that they had nothing to apprehend on his part; but he secretly gave directions to Carreto, his engineer, to point thirty pieces of ordnance against the mosque. To his soldiers, he said, that he intended to honour the Baïram by discharges of artillery; and they went to perform their devotions at a mosque within the fortress. As soon, however, as he had learned that the Turkish officers were in the mosque of Loocta, he gave the signal: the artillery thundered; after a quarter of an hour, when the smoke had dispersed, the mosque was a heap of ruins, and the cypresses around it flaming like torches. Sixty officers and 200 men had perished. "*Ali Pasha is not dead!*" cried the old satrap in exultation, as he beheld what he had done.

## CHAPTER XVII.

*Arrival of Mavrocordátos—Surrender of Monemvasia—of Navarino—Engagement at Patras—Arrival of Mavrocordátos at Tripolitza—Camp before that Town—Characters of the Chiefs—Affair of Kaki Scala—Direction of the artillery given to M. Raybaud—Battery erected—Arrival of Mr Gordon.*

ON the 3d August, Prince Alexander Mavrocordátos, the nephew and minister of Carajo, the late hospodar of Valachia, who had been living in Tuscany, arrived at Mesolonghi. He had freighted a vessel from Marseilles with

stores necessary for the Greeks; and he was accompanied by about seventy Greeks, who were returning from France, Italy, and Germany, to the service of their country. There were also on board some French and Piedmontese officers desirous of drawing their swords in the cause of Greek emancipation; among these was M. Raybaud, who has published the excellent work to which we shall so frequently have occasion to refer in the course of our narrative. After a delay of a few days at Mesolonghi, Mavrocordátos passed over to the Greek army before Patras, intending to proceed thence to Tripolitza.

The very day that Mavrocordátos landed, was that of the surrender of Monemvasia, or Napoli di Malvoisie.\* This town lies at the east side of the mountains of Laconia, to the south of the entrance into the gulf of Nauplia, or Argos. It is built on the little island of Minoa, on the left side of the harbour, which has been joined to the mainland by a bridge, on piles of amazing strength and solidity. It is so strong by its position, that the Turks did not hesitate on shutting themselves up in it, to slaughter the Greeks who dwelt in the suburbs. The siege of it was formed at the commencement of the insurrection, by the people of the villages in the country extending from it to Cape Malio, while five Hydraote brigs entered the road, to invest it by sea. The besiegers, un-

\* It was called Monemvasia (*one entrance*) on account of the form of its harbour, or rather of the town itself. Malvasia, the name given to it by the Venetians, is plainly a corruption of that word, as Napoli is of Neapolis (*New Town.*)

used to military operations, had made no progress, when Mavromichális came in person to conduct the siege. The Turks, who had been taken by surprise when the insurrection broke out, had not had any time to lay in provisions; their sufferings, therefore, soon became extreme, and it is asserted that they had lived for some time on the bodies of their enemies. They therefore offered to surrender to Gregory Cantacuzena, whom Hypsilantis had sent to direct the operations of the siege, on condition of their lives and arms being secured, their being allowed to take with them their portable property, and their being conveyed to the coast of Asia. These terms were at once agreed to, and the town was surrendered on the 3d August, the very day, as we have observed, on which Mavrocordátos landed at Mesolonghi. The firmness of Cantacuzena caused the first article to be rigorously observed, but the plundering propensities of the Maniotes were too strong to allow of his being equally successful in the second part. The Turks were landed on a desert islet, equidistant from Samos and the continent, whence the French consul at Scala Nova had them conveyed to that city. The treatment which these unfortunate people, who had lost almost all their property, experienced from their fellow-Moslems, was inhospitable and insulting; and they bitterly regretted the happiness which they had enjoyed and lost in the Morea.\*

About ten or twelve days after the surrender of Monemvasia, the Turks who were in Nava-

\* Raybaud, i. 343.

rino, exhausted with toil and hunger, offered to capitulate on similar conditions. But they desired to surrender to Hypsilantis in person, or to some one acquainted with the usages of civilized society. Hypsilantis directed M. Tipaldo, a young Greek, who had spent a long time in Italy, and M. Baleste, a Frenchman, who was organizing the nucleus of a regular army at Calamata, to proceed thither. These gentlemen, on arriving at Navarino, saw that the Greeks who were there, were not men to adhere to the articles of any capitulation; and they refused to compromise their own honour, or that of the prince, by taking any part in a treaty which they knew would be violated. The Turks accordingly were obliged to make their surrender to the captains of the irregular bands which besieged them, who engaged to transport them to Asia; but not one of these unhappy people ever beheld the shores of the *Ægean*; the greater part of them were barbarously and treacherously massacred; the remainder placed on the barren islet of Sphacteria, where they perished of famine.\*

It was the intention of Mavrocordatos to continue at Patras some days, to seek to establish a perfect harmony among the chiefs, and to arrange a plan of attack and defence in their future operations. The Greek army before that town consisted of about 6000 men, ill clad, ill fed, ill armed; there was no commander-in-chief,

\* Raybaud, i. 426. Sphacteria is celebrated as the scene of the calamity of the Spartans in the Peloponnesian war. In 1770, a number of Greeks, who fled to it from the Turks, perished of hunger.

as the archbishop Germanos, who possessed a good deal of authority over them, did not assume that office ; they were divided into separate companies, in general commanded by their primates, or by captains of their own choice ; for, as there was no penalty for disobedience or indiscipline among these men, who were all volunteers, they quitted their companies as they liked ; and a captain who saw himself to-day at the head of 1000 or 1500 men, perhaps in a fortnight had not half the number, his men having preferred the service of some more fortunate or more enterprising chief. Even a common soldier, if he happened to distinguish himself by any brilliant action, often became a leader, as a number of his comrades would attach themselves to him, and acknowledge him as their chief. Whenever any extraordinary operation was to be performed, the captains met in council, but tumult and anarchy always prevailed in their deliberations, and no plan or measure in which all should concur was adopted. If the enemy made a sortie, whoever was nearest, or whoever pleased, might advance to oppose him ; if the affair became general, they still did not think themselves obliged to support each other. They retired when they took the fancy, without ever reflecting what the effect of their so doing might be on those who were engaged with the enemy. Hence they often lost advantages which some degree of unanimity and perseverance might have secured.\* Their artillery consisted of two small field-pieces, in bad order. It was there-

\* Raybaud. This description applies to the Greek armies in general at the breaking out of the war.



fore only by blockade that they could hope to succeed against the castle of Patras, though it was incapable of resisting a regular attack. The garrison was composed chiefly of Lalaotes, the bravest Mussulmans in the Morea, and Yoosoof pasha, their commander, was not devoid of military skill. The Greeks, moreover, were never able to interrupt their communication with the castle of Morea, distant about three leagues ; and the garrison was constantly supplied with provisions from Zante and Cephalonia.

On the 14th August, while Mavrocordátos was with the Greeks before Patras, the Turks made a vigorous sally. The Greeks, encouraged by the presence of the Prince and the European officers, did not, as was their usual custom, wait to be attacked, but, quitting their camp at the foot of the mountains, boldly advanced into the plain between it and the town, to meet the enemy. When the engagement had lasted two hours, the Turks retired in disorder to a burial-ground, which was walled in, and lay at some distance from the ramparts, and to which they had, the preceding evening, conveyed three huge pieces of cannon. Yoosoof pasha, on seeing this, sallied from the town, at the head of some fresh troops, and drove the Greeks back towards their camp ; but the fire of the petty artillery of the Greeks was so well sustained and directed, that the enemy was again forced to retire ; and after making several ineffectual attempts to maintain his position on different little eminences around the burial-ground, he re-entered the castle, leaving a small party to protect his cannon. The French officers advised an attempt to take the

cannon of the Turks during the night, and Mavrocordátos highly approved of the counsel; but the courage of the Greek soldiers seemed to have sunk with the sun, and they could not be induced to attempt it. The loss of the Turks was about one hundred men slain and fifteen prisoners, whose heads, as well as those of the dead men, were cut off by the victors. The Greeks had about twenty men killed and forty wounded.\* Though there was a European surgeon on the spot, yet for want of proper instruments, linen to make bandages, &c. &c., several of the latter died of hemorrhage.

Having no farther occasion to remain at Patras, Mavrocordátos, and the French and Italian officers, set out for Tripolitza. At Calavrita, they saved the lives of the unfortunate Turks who had been confined there at the breaking out of the insurrection. But it was only a respite for them, as some time afterwards, they were massacred in cold blood by the barbarous Greeks. They here also met a Bavarian cavalry officer, who had gone on and spent two days in

\* M. Raybaud says, that in some French and other journals which he saw some months afterwards, the loss of the Turks in this affair was stated at 1200 men. We have already observed how little reliance can be placed on the accounts of the number of killed and wounded in the affairs between the Turks and the Greeks. That the loss was, in general, greater on the side of the former, is, however, tolerably certain, as the Turks, being more courageous and better armed, exposed themselves boldly in the field; the Greeks usually got behind trees, walls, bushes, rocks, and thence fired to advantage on the enemy. The losses on either side were rarely considerable, as the firing was generally at too great a distance to do much mischief.

the camp before Tripolitza ; he was, like many others who had come out with high and unreasonable expectations, returning home disappointed and embittered. His representations had such an effect on the minds of the Piedmontese that they declined going any farther, and, in spite of the arguments and entreaties of Mavrocordátos, they went back with the German. On the 26th, Mavrocordátos, and the French officers entered the camp at Tripolitza.

The town of Tripolitza, the capital of the Morea, lies some miles from the ancient towns of Mantinea and Tegea, in a plain six leagues in its greatest length, and three in its greatest breadth. The hills which surround it are rocky, and devoid of vegetation. Water is conveyed to the town by a subterraneous passage from a spring to the south of it. It was defended by a wall about fourteen feet in height, and but twenty-eight inches thick at its top ; but behind this, and close joining it, was another wall, nine feet high. A small fort, within the walls, commanded the town.

The Greeks had been for two months encamped on the hills around Tripolitza. Their camp was now disposed in the form of a crescent on the hills nearest to the town, exposed to the burning heat of the sun, which was augmented by the reflection from the rocks, without a spring, a shrub, or the slightest trace of vegetation to relieve it.

There was more order and regularity maintained in this camp than in that before Patras, and the chiefs were much better obeyed by the soldiers. Colocotronis had succeeded in establish-

ing a considerable degree of discipline among his men. Operations were tolerably well combined, and provisions were distributed with some sort of regularity ; but nothing had as yet been done towards providing for the care and relief of the wounded ; and, if the natural vigour of his constitution was not adequate to his cure, the wounded soldier had nothing else to look to.

The total amount of the Greek troops before Tripolitza, was from 6000 to 7000 men, commanded by Colocotronis, Anagnostáras, Yatráko, and Peter Mavromichális, the bey of Mani. The division of Colocotronis, consisting of 2500 men, was the largest. This chief occupied the left extremity of the camp. Yatráko, with 1600 men, was posted at the right ; and Anagnostaras, with 1000 men, in the centre. Mavromichális, with 1200 or 1500 of his Maniotes, had taken his station on the heights behind the camp. Prince Hypsilantis had his quarters in the part occupied by Anagnostaras. The captain Manotoki of Prasto, with 300 men, guarded the defiles leading to Argos and Napoli di Romania ; the road to Londari was watched by 150 men under another captain.

These troops were ill armed in general, and utterly devoid of side arms ; their guns had no bayonets, and they therefore could not engage in close combat with the Turks. Their artillery consisted of about ten guns of various sizes, the largest being an old brass eighteen-pounder, and three mortars, lately brought, with immense labour, over the mountains from Monemvasia, one in good order, the other two nailed up. All were mounted in a most miserable manner.

As all the Turks of the neighbouring cantons had, at the breaking out of the insurrection, retired to Tripolitza, and the entire tribe of the Boodiniotes from Laconia had sought shelter within its walls, and Elmas-bey had led thither 1500 Albanians from Patras, the number of fighting men in it amounted to near 12,000, of whom more than a fourth were horsemen. It was defended by sixty pieces of cannon; and the kiaya of Khoorsheed pasha, who commanded it, was one of the most valiant of the Turkish chiefs. He was so dreaded by the Greeks, that he often was seen, at the head of forty horsemen, to drive 500 or 600 of them before him, like a flock of sheep.\* The Greeks had therefore not yet ventured to meet the enemy in the plain; they confined themselves to harassing them in their sallies, and trusted to time, disease, and famine, for their reduction.

As the principal persons who figured in the early part of the insurrection in the Morea were now in the camp before Tripolitza, we will pause, and give a sketch of their respective characters.

D. Hypsilantis has been already described. Mavrocordátos, who was some years older than he, had all those external qualities in which Hypsilantis was deficient. His countenance was manly and open; his manners agreeable and insinuating. He was open-handed and liberal, even to profusion; eloquent, and expert in ne-

\* Raybaud, i. 378. In the commencement of the insurrection, the Greeks could not divest themselves of their habitual dread of the Turks. Victory afterwards gave them courage, and diminished the boldness and confidence of their enemies.

gotiation. The transactions in which we shall find him engaged, as we proceed, will fully develop all parts of his character.

Colocotronis was the son of a man, who, after giving the Turks most effectual aid against the Albanians after 1770, was put to death by them. Having with difficulty escaped from the murderers of his father, he had served in the Greek troops of the different powers who successively occupied the Seven Isles. He had frequently returned to the Morea, and putting himself at the head of parties of Klephs, made the Turks tremble within the walls of Tripolitza, and purchase his departure with considerable sums of money. He had risen to the rank of major in an Albanian regiment in the pay of England, when it was disbanded. As soon as the insurrection broke out, he returned to his country, and his reputation soon drew 700 or 800 men around him; a number which was now increased to 2500. This chief was about fifty years of age, totally illiterate, of a most robust and hardy constitution; his height was above the middle size; his countenance was harsh and thin.

Yatrako was distinguished, from his earliest years, for the love of medicine; a science in which he had made, without any instruction, and merely by long practice, some progress. His skill had procured him great favour with the Turks, who had allowed him to bear arms—a privilege not conceded to rayas in general. It was also, perhaps, the cause of his division being the most numerous, next to that of Colocotronis—as, a modern Machaon, he dressed the wounds of his soldiers with his own hands.

Anagnostáras was the oldest of all the captains. During forty years, he had maintained himself in the mountains of Arcadia; and the successive pashas of the Morea had vainly tried force, stratagem, and seduction, against him. His hair had grown white in incessant warfare against the oppressors of his country; but the vigour and activity of his limbs were undiminished. Of all the chiefs, though none was more used to independence, he was the most ready to yield obedience to the authority of Hypsilantis, and of the government which succeeded him. He was also particularly attentive to the foreigners who came to fight for the liberties of Greece.

Peter Mavromichális, the bey of Mani, was the son of the chief of that name, who took so noted a part in the transactions of the year 1770; he was now about fifty years of age. Though he had been one of the first to declare for the cause of independence, his character was one of inertness and sloth. He was also a noted *gourmand*, and delighted in high-seasoned Turkish dishes. His brother, Kyriacoolis, was his lieutenant at Tripolitza. This latter chief was extremely brave, but of an odd appearance; he wore immense whiskers, which he brought back and tied in a knot behind his head!

Much about the time that Mavrocordátos arrived at the camp, the Greeks had given a check to the besieged, which, joined with the tidings of the fall of Monemvasia, had greatly dispirited them. The kiaya had set out in person, at the head of a considerable party of cavalry, and followed by several beasts of burden, to levy a contribution on a village distant about five miles,

at the foot of the mountains which are cut by the defile of Kaki Scala. The peasants, who were at their work, fled to the heights; the captain Manatoki, who was charged with the defence of the passage, on being informed of the approach of the Turks, immediately set forward to attack them. Having taken a position where the Turkish cavalry could not manœuvre, he made a furious attack on them; the enemy, however, still kept their order, and they were beginning to effect their retreat with the corn which they had collected, when Colocotronis appeared at the head of 500 men. After a brief and feeble resistance, the kiaya was obliged to make a speedy retreat, having lost 100 of his men, and all his beasts of burden. The peasants, when they saw him put to rout, came down from the hills to fall on the fugitives; and had not a large body of troops come out of the town to protect his entrance, the formidable kiaya might have fallen into the hands of his enemies. The victorious Colocotronis returned in triumph to the camp, preceded by the heads of the slain Musulmans, and followed by the beasts of burden. The Turks ventured no more to go to a distance from the town; and as the Greeks could not be induced to go far from the foot of the mountains, the besieged could never get the opportunity which they desired, of bringing them to a decisive action. The greater part of the day was usually consumed in distant and detached firing at each other, in which the loss was never great on either side. The Greeks sometimes caught some stragglers, whom they forthwith massacred, as a reward of three piastres (1s. 6d.)



was given for every Turk's head which was brought in.

The ignorant Greeks anticipated marvellous effects from their mortars, when they could be employed against the town, which they deemed could not fail to capitulate after a smart bombardment. No one, however, among them knew how to employ these formidable instruments; till an Italian adventurer, named Tassi, who had been ruined by some wild mercantile speculations at Smyrna, arrived in the camp, and, giving himself out for an officer of engineers, and the secret agent of some very high personages, and talking in mysterious terms of the assistance which might be rendered to the Greeks if he was able to report favourably of their spirit and their means, he succeeded in imposing on both the army and its chief.

This impostor took on himself the office of directing the Greek artillery, and it so happened that he was to give the first essay of his skill, by throwing a few bombs, on the very evening of the arrival of Mavrocordátos at the camp. Having waited on the French officers at their arrival, he begged of M. Raybaud to accompany him to a redoubt which he had constructed on the side of the hills, at the enormous distance of 700 fathoms from the town. M. Raybaud, and another officer, proceeded with him as he desired; a number of Greek soldiers, full of admiration of the Archimechanicos (*chief-engineer*), as Tassi pompously styled himself, preceded and followed them; the neighbouring heights were covered with Greeks watching for the effect of a thing altogether new to them.

Mavrocordátos, Hypsilantis, and Cantacuzena, waited with impatience for the discharge of the first bomb.

The French officers, when they beheld the preparations which the Archimechanicos had been making, entreated of him to put off his experiments; and made him at last candidly confess that he knew nothing about what he had undertaken. But he dreaded to disappoint the expectations of the Greeks, and in a sort of desperation he put the match to the mortar. A dull heavy sound told that it was burst. As ill luck would have it, this mortar was the best of them. Tassi was therefore terrified at what he had done; and as the party returned, slowly and in silence, to their quarters, the murmurs of the word *Katáskopos* (*spy*), which they heard around them, made them fear for the life of the unlucky Italian. He did not dare to appear before Hypsilantis, and above all things, he dreaded the wrath of Colocotronis, who had been all along suspicious of him. In a couple of days after, the kind-hearted Hypsilantis gave him an opportunity of making his escape, and he left the camp with precipitation.

M. Raybaud was now requested to take on him the charge of directing the artillery. As the office was one from which much credit was not likely to redound, he was little disposed to undertake it. At length, yielding to the pressing instances of Hypsilantis, he assented, provided that all the captains were informed of the state which the mortars were in, and the great likelihood there was of their sharing the fate of the other. A council was accordingly held

in the tent of Hypsilantis, and after a long and grave discussion, it was resolved that it was just as well for the mortars to burst as to be useless; and M. Raybaud was directed to act as he judged best. They placed at his disposal two interpreters, a tolerably good carpenter, a wretched bad smith, and some Ionian sailors presented themselves to serve as gunners.

There were on the plain, between the camp and the town, three eminences, the last undulations of Mount Mænalus. On one of these, distant about 200 fathoms from the walls, M. Raybaud decided to establish a battery, composed of the mortars, and of some pieces of cannon. He set a number of men to work at it, but a shot from the town having killed one of them, the remainder lost courage, and taking advantage of the circumstance of their coming to the rock shortly afterwards, though the stone was perfectly friable, they broke off the work, and neither prayers nor menaces could induce them to return to it. M. Raybaud was therefore obliged to content himself with forming a square excavation on the top of the mount, entered by a covered way on the side away from the town.

After incredible labour, and every exertion of ingenuity to overcome the difficulties presented by want of the necessary materials and tools, and of skilful workmen, M. Raybaud succeeded in unnailing and mounting the mortars, and he had at length the gratification of obtaining results which satisfied him. The Greeks were transported with joy, and the departure of every bomb was accompanied with shouts which made Mænalus peal.

Delighted, however, as the Greeks were with their artillery, they were so little solicitous to guard it, that M. Raybaud was seriously apprehensive of its falling into the hands of the enemy. Every evening 150 men were left to protect it, but it was rarely that the dawn found any one of them at his post, for as they were much nearer to the enemy than to their own camp, they were afraid of being surprised before any could come to their aid. M. Raybaud was therefore obliged to adopt some other measures for the security of their *materiel*. The three eminences on the plain, the centre one of which was occupied by the battery, ran in an oblique line from the centre of the camp, from which the first was distant about 200 fathoms, to the end of the town where the citadel stood. The third of them, which was very close to the wall, was defended from the enemy's fire by a natural rampart of small rocks, behind which were posted 800 of Yatráko's men, with two field-pieces; and the height and proximity which they were at, enabled them to fire through the embrasures of the citadel, and even into the streets of the town. The first eminence was also occupied and defended by two pieces of cannon; and a chain of posts was thus established, which could easily communicate with and defend each other.

On the 5th September, 500 or 600 Greeks, encouraged by the apathy which the garrison had manifested for some days, ventured to approach so close to the town on the side away from the citadel, that they were enabled to establish themselves in the ruins of some burnt houses before one of the gates. Notwithstanding

ing the fire from the ramparts, they maintained their position for two hours, till a body of cavalry issued from the town in another part, with the intention of cutting off their retreat. The Greeks then retired in disorder, and several of them were wounded or made prisoners.

Soon after, Mr Gordon of Cairness, a Scotch gentleman, who had been in the Russian service, arrived in the camp, accompanied by several French and English officers, and some patriotic Greeks. He had freighted a vessel at Marseilles, in which he gave a passage to all who were desirous of aiding the Greek cause, and he brought as a present to the Greeks, three new howitzers and 600 muskets. Among his companions were a Mr Robertson, a physician named Katsovski, Mr Voutier, who had been a pupil in the French marine, the Greeks, Francopoólos, Rhodius, &c. &c. Mr Gordon was received with the utmost testimonies of gratitude and esteem by Hypsilantis, and the chiefs of the Hellenic army.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

*Siege of Tripolitza continued—Intercourse of the Greeks and Turks—Assembly at Saracova—Departure of Mavrocordátos and Cantacuzena—Distress of the Besieged—Traffic between the Greeks and the Albanians—Departure of Hypsilantis—Battle of Fontana—Conference between the Greek Chiefs and the Besieged—Negotiations with the Albanians—Arrival of Booboolina—Traffic of the Greek Chiefs in Protections.*

SCARCELY a day passed without one of the usual indecisive engagements taking place. The

Turks would issue from the town, the Greeks would press forward to meet them, shots in abundance would be fired, and little mischief done on both sides. If the kiaya dashed out at the head of his horsemen, on their Arabian chargers, firmly fixed in their deep saddles, and armed with carabines, pistols, daggers, yatagans, and sabres, the Greeks fled at once to the shelter of their rocks, for in the plain they could offer them no resistance. No one who considers the composition and condition of the Greek army, will, however, be in a hurry to charge with cowardice the men who were thus cautious how they exposed their lives. The Greek soldier had no pay, he had no medicine or medical aid if he was wounded, and there was no provision for himself or his family if he was maimed or slain.

As it was the Turkish cavalry that the Greeks most dreaded, the following expedient was adopted to diminish its number. The Turks, being masters of the plain on the other side of the town, used to pasture their horses on it, and a strong detachment left the town every morning for its protection, and took its post in the ruins of a village about 1200 paces from the ramparts. Colocotronis undertook to seize this post, and about an hour before day he occupied it with 100 men. The Turks, on arriving, as usual, and finding it in the hands of the enemy, turned back, without making any attempt to dislodge them. The post was held by the Greeks till the end of the siege, and was regularly relieved every night. Though the party posted there was so small, no attempt was made by the

Turks to recover possession of it, and as their horses had now no grass but what grew close to the walls, they began to die off rapidly.

The day was usually employed in little skirmishes; in the evening, the Greek soldiers amused themselves with dancing to the music of a sort of hautboy and a tambourine, or they gathered around a wandering minstrel, who, to the twanging of his three-stringed mandoline, sung a lay of the exploits of some valiant Klepht, the patriotic strains of Rhigas, or verses on some event of the present war.

It was not unusual, also, for small parties of the Greeks, during the extreme heat of the day, at which time they rarely fought, to approach as near to the walls as they safely could. The Turks would then come out in small numbers, and having on both sides promised to do each other no injury, they would sit down in two lines, and smoke and converse together for hours. These conversations had occasionally, however, a tragic conclusion, as something would occur to produce a quarrel, which generally terminated to the disadvantage of those who were most distant from their friends. The chiefs endeavoured in vain to put an end to these proceedings, which served only to prolong the defence of the town; for the soldiers, especially the Maniotes, who will do any thing for money, sold baskets of figs and grapes to the Turks, and at times there was a complete market opened under the cannon of the town.

Meantime an assembly was sitting at Saracova; but several of the members were absent, and it proceeded slowly in its deliberations.

Vamvas proceeded thither to make known the claims of Hypsilantis, which differed little from those which he had advanced at Vervena. The assembly agreed to acknowledge him as president of the senate of the Morea, and commander-in-chief of its forces ; also as representative of that part of Greece in the general congress of the deputies of the nation, which was to be convoked as soon as possible, in order to establish a central government. In the interim, the assembly retained to itself the right of granting or refusing the Moreote troops to be employed in any expedition which the prince might be disposed to make beyond the peninsula. This last article was highly displeasing to Hypsilantis, and nothing was definitively arranged. He still exercised his usual authority over the people, especially the soldiers, whose attachment to him had suffered no diminution.

The army, it is to be observed, though under the command of military chiefs, did not cease to recognise the authority of the primates ; these were living quietly in their different cantons, managing the large estates of the Turkish agás, who were all fled or murdered, without accounting to any one for what came into their hands, and sending the necessary supplies of provisions to such of their people as were with the army.

A few days before the assembly of Saracova separated, Cantacuzena suddenly quitted the camp ; he was followed by Mavrocórdatos, who overtook him in a village on the gulf of Napoli di Romania, and brought him back. The cause of his abrupt departure was said to have been



the refusal of Hypsilantis to give him as ample powers as he demanded, on his proposing to go and put himself at the head of the insurrection in eastern Greece. Hypsilantis, being pressed by him and Mavrocordátos to explain what the order of things was which he wished to establish, gave only evasive answers. His intentions were not bad, but his mind was inadequate to the conception and execution of any very extensive plan, and his manner gave ground for suspicion; they parted from him with a coolness indicative of a future rupture. Mavrocordátos set out for Ætolia to organize the western provinces; Cantacuzena, who was given a similar mission to the isles, did not execute it. He accompanied Mavrocordátos to Mesolonghi, and soon afterwards left Greece altogether.

The operations of the siege did not slacken. Some poor Greek women, who had escaped at various times out of the town, assured the chiefs that the inhabitants were beginning to experience all the horrors of famine; and that it was the intention of the Turks to leave it some night, and, placing the women and children in the midst of them, to force their way through the pass of Kaki Scala to Napoli di Romania. The force at that place was immediately strengthened; but the Turks, either never having formed the design, or thinking, from the number of fires which they saw on the hills, that it was discovered, did not make any attempt to leave the town. A Greek was one day caught with dispatches from the kiaya for the Turks of Corinth, and as he had been already punished for similar conduct, it was determined to make a

dreadful example of him, as it was known that there were many Greeks who acted as spies for the enemy, spending their nights in the town, and their days in the camp. He was put to death with horrible tortures. That, however, did not deter others from following his example—the golden bait proving too attractive to be resisted by their patriotism.

The reward of three piastres for the head of every Turk slain with arms in his hands, was a great excitement to exertion on the part of the Greeks, who had adopted from their Mohammedan masters, the savage practice, unknown to their ancestors, of cutting off the heads of the slain. A Greek soldier, whose brother had been taken and put to death by the Turks in the affair of the 5th, met one day three young Turks in the mountains, about two leagues from the town, which they had left in search of food. He cut off the heads of two of them, and made the third carry them before him to the camp, where he was going to kill him, in order to have the reward for three heads. Hypsilantis had him instantly disarmed; but gave him the nine piastres, not, he said, as the price of the three heads, but as a reward for sparing the life of the third Turk. This decision, however, did not accord with the soldier's idea of the rights of war, and he manifested his determination to have the life of his prisoner. The whole camp was of his way of thinking, and the affair might have been serious, had not the foreign officers besought the bishop of Helos, who possessed great influence over the minds of the soldiers, to explain to them the difference between manfully

killing an armed enemy in the field, and cowardly assassinating a defenceless prisoner. The prelate ascended a rock, and preached with great energy for an hour. His eloquence proved effective, and the life of the young Turk was spared.

The intelligence which reached the camp every day of the melancholy state of the garrison, and the rumours which arrived of the assembling of an army in Thessaly destined for its relief, determined Hypsilantis to try an assault. The largest cannon were moved to the hill next the town, which was occupied by the 800 men, and it was attempted to make a breach in the wall; but the wall proving too strong for the slight artillery of the Greeks, this project was given up as impracticable. It was then proposed to take advantage of a dark night, to burst open two or three of the gates by fastening a kind of petard to them, and then rush into the town; but the Greeks did not find their courage as yet adequate to so bold an action. They were equally disinclined to escalading the walls under the fire of the enemy; and Colocotronis, and some others, who had their own private reasons for it, were quite adverse to the project of obtaining possession of the town in this manner.

No small degree of discouragement was spread through the camp by the intelligence which reached it on the 20th of September, of the appearance of a Turkish fleet of thirty-six sail, on the southern coast of the peninsula. This was the combined Turkish and Egyptian fleet, whose passage from Rhodes has been already mentioned. It had apparently designed to effect a

landing at Calamata ; but Colonel Baleste,\* who was at that place organizing some regular troops, leading his men down to the beach to oppose them, the Turks, if they had the intention, abandoned it, and steered for Coron.

Baleste soon afterwards brought his little body of regulars, whose organization was but merely in the rough, to the camp, as he deemed that his own and their services might be now requisite. Mr Gordon had also formed a company, which he paid out of his own funds, and put under the command of his friend, Mr Humphries, and the two Greeks, Rhodius and Francopoolos. As he was not very confident of the fidelity and steadiness of his men, he adopted the useless (as it soon appeared) precaution of making them take an oath before the bishop of Helos, not to quit their colours for a certain time.

The arrival of the Turkish fleet off Patras had the effect of forcing the Greeks to give up the blockade of that city, and retire to the mountains. Some of the chiefs before Tripolitza, who knew the real state of things in the town, and were anxious to get Hypsilantis and his regular troops away from the camp—as they knew that, if he was there when the surrender should be made, he would exert all his influence

\* This French officer was the first who joined the Greeks. He had been directed by Hypsilantis to organize a battalion after the European fashion. It was officered by Italians and Greeks, who had been in foreign service ; the uniform was black ; officers and men let their beards grow. The soldiers had French muskets, as the long guns of the Greeks were not adapted to the European mode of handling arms.

and authority to have the terms of the capitulation adhered to—endeavoured to persuade him that his presence was necessary in those places which were menaced by the enemy, and that he ought, above all things, to have the blockade of Patras resumed. Colocotronis, who carried things with a high hand in all the councils, prevailed also in this one; all the members were, or feigned to be, of his opinion; and Hypsilantis, the dupe of his stratagem, fixed his departure for the 25th of the month.

It was now evident that the fall of Tripolitza was not far distant: old men, women, and children, daily stole out of it, and made their way to the Greek camp. According to their report, the soldiers alone had any food, and the people were reduced to the extreme of misery. The Albanians had seized the best wells in the town, and would let no one draw water without paying for it; and they extorted money in every possible way from the governor and the inhabitants. They carried on a traffic every night under the walls with the Greeks for their rations, which they bought at an extravagant price, to sell again for ten times as much. The Maniotes were, as was to be expected, the foremost in this traffic. Their captain, Kyriakoolis, sought in vain to check it by having musketry discharged on the traders, regardless whether Maniote or Albanian were hit; the commerce went on with undiminished vigour. So ardent was the thirst of gain, that the Maniotes contented themselves with the eighth part of a small ration in order to sell the remainder, or even fed on the vilest substances, that they might

dispose of the whole. Sometimes the purchasers were so enraged at their exorbitance, that they fell on and massacred them ; still they were not deterred. A party of them had one day the audacity to seize the bread which the primates were sending to the camp, and to sell a part of it to the Turks. This exploit, however, was near having serious consequences, as the other soldiers were so enraged at the loss of their food, that they were with difficulty kept from taking vengeance on the robbers.

A few days before the departure of the prince, a soldier, sent by Elmas-agá, came out of the town to speak with Colocotronis. It was conjectured that the Albanian chief meditated abandoning the town, as it was observed that the envoy sold his arms to the Greeks, which looked as if it was apprehended that the surrender of them would be one of the conditions of allowing them to retreat. Another sign of the approaching fall of Tripolitza, was the descent of the Maniotes from their lofty station in the background. They were now in the first line ; they occupied the back of the eminence on which the mortars were placed ; or they had got into ravines formed by the rain, which extended almost up to the ramparts, ready to spring into the town, when the opportunity for carnage and plunder should present itself.

There can be no stronger proof of the mediocrity of Hypsilantis's mind, than his quitting the camp at such a conjuncture as this, when his presence might have restrained the excesses of a ferocious banditti ; and a military chest might have been formed out of the money which

the town contained. He departed, with a small field-piece, three or four gunners, and his little battalion of regulars, to watch the motions of the Ottoman fleet, and to oppose its landing ! All the foreigners, except M. Raybaud, who remained at his request, accompanied him. Regard for their oath could not induce Mr Gordon's company to give up the certainty of plunder, and march with the prince. The command of the army was left with Mavromichális ; Anagnostopoolos, one of the prince's adjutants, remained to give him an account of whatever might occur during his absence.

The day after the prince's departure, the kiaya called before him two Greek priests who were in the town. " Dogs," said he, " go ask those rayas what it is they want, and what their designs are. Tell them, that, at the cost of a few heads, I will get them their pardon from the Sultan, if they will return to their duty." The unhappy priests, worn out with famine and suffering, tottered to the Grecian camp, where their appearance excited rage and commiseration ; the silly bravado of the kiaya, derision and contempt. They drew a dismal picture of the cruelties inflicted by the kiaya on such of the Greeks as were in the town when it was invested, especially on the hostages, most of whom were dead in consequence of the rigour with which they had been treated.

Each day the number of the besiegers augmented ; some left their villages, others the sieges of such places as were invested, to come and bear their part in the capture of Tripolitza. It was a gathering together of the eagles around



the carcass. The Grecian camp now encompassed the town; and the Turks, from their ramparts, viewed with dismay the increased numbers of their besiegers. The Maniotes looked with a jealous eye on the new comers. Disease manifested itself both within and without the walls; but its attacks on the besiegers were as nothing compared with its ravages among the besieged, who were now reduced to despair.\*

All hopes of being relieved were now at an end; the army which was assembled in Thessaly was no more. It had been the intention of the Porte, that this army should enter the Morea by the Isthmus, and co-operate with the fleet of the capitan-pasha; and had the plan been accomplished, there can be little doubt but that it would have proved nearly fatal to the Greek cause. This army was commanded by the pashas Hajjee Beker, Behrem, Saïm Ali, and Mismih. The three last arrived at Zeitooni with 5000 men. After a halt of three days, they marched for Fontana, on their way to Livadia. Having passed the night of the 6th September at the village of Molo, not far from Thermopylæ, they sent forward next morning 300 picked men, to reconnoitre the passage. The Greeks, who were commanded by Dyvooniotis and Hervé-Gooras,† fell on them from an ambush,

\* The chief cause of disease among the Greeks was their neglect of cleanliness and attention to health. The ground in the camp was everywhere covered with the putrefying heads of Turks, entrails of animals, and other filth.

† Odysseus is commonly thought to have been present at the battle of Fontana; M. Raybaud positively asserts that he was not there.



and slew them all but seven. Next day the Turks pushed on, determined to force their way ; the conflict was most obstinate and well maintained : every moment the Turks saw fresh enemies appear ; they combated man to man, with swords and daggers ; the blood streamed along the plain. At length, after a conflict of three hours, the Turks were obliged to quit the field, after a loss far exceeding any they had yet experienced since the insurrection had broken out. Upwards of 800 lay on the ground, seventy-five were taken and put to the sword ; the number of the wounded was considerable. Among the slain were Saïm Ali pasha, and Mismih pasha. For several days after, Turks were found hiding in the woods and ravines, and put to death. Seven pieces of cannon, several *bairaks*, or standards, a great number of beasts laden with provisions, horses, tents, and money, were the rewards of this victory. The insurrection spread through Thessaly ; the spirits of the Greeks were everywhere elevated.

The Hetairist Dikaïos, having collected about 900 men, gave the Turks a check in Megaris, and drove them out of it, and the territory of Eleusis. This is the last we hear of this man, who probably fell in the engagement.\*

The harem and the wife of Koorsheed pasha were, as has been already remarked, in Tripolitza. This lady took a considerable share in all the deliberations of the besieged ; and nothing was done without her concurrence. The action of the bombs had caused her a good deal of ter-

\* Pouqueville, iii. 185.

ror ; and Anastatius, the son of Mavromichális, who was one of the hostages in the town, and witnessed her uneasiness, wrote to his father to continue the bombardment. M. Raybaud, who had of late been sparing of his shells, as they were running short, flung a few that evening.

During the night, several communications passed between the town and the camp ; and at dawn the next morning, (the 26th,) a large tent was pitched, equidistant from the ramparts and the Greek advanced posts. The Turks had demanded a conference, and hostilities had ceased for a time. A crowd of women and children, taking advantage of this cessation of the war, left the town to seek refuge in the Grecian quarters. They were carrying with them such things as they thought calculated to mollify the hearts of their enemies ; but the ruthless Albanians, who kept the gates, stripped them of every thing as they went out. The Greeks, who, as provisions were getting scarce, had resolved to receive no more of these wretched people, fired some shots at them, to drive them back ; the Turks, from the walls, glad to be rid of them, fired to drive them on. Death was before, death and famine behind ; they rushed into the line of the enemy, and were assigned a station in the rear, at the entrance of the road leading to Calavrita. Those who had saved any thing from the rapacity of the Albanians, bought food at an enormous rate ; those who had nothing, fed on the most wretched and disgusting substances, and finally perished of hunger. Numbers of these unhappy creatures had, before the siege, been in the enjoyment of com-

fort and independence, the wives and children of wealthy agás.

The deputies selected by the Turks to treat of the capitulation, were Sheikh Hajib-effendi, a ulema, or doctor of the law, and Mustafa-bey of Patras—two men who had at all times behaved with gentleness and humanity towards the Greeks. These two venerable men left the town at ten o'clock in the morning, mounted on Arabian horses, and followed by black slaves, and a numerous escort. They entered the tent, where, in about an hour, they were joined by the archbishop Germanos, Mavromichális, Colocotronis, Yatráko, Anagnostáras, and Delianópoulos, the primate of Cariténa. M. Raybaud and Anagnostópoulos also entered the tent. The Turkish deputies rose at the entrance of the Greeks, and all, except Colocotronis, saluted each other politely. Coffee was brought in, the pipes were lighted, and for more than half an hour they all smoked in silence, only broken now and then by questions on indifferent subjects. At length, Colocotronis cried, "There has been time enough lost in smoking and saying nothing." The Turks, as if awaking from a reverie, asked what were the conditions that they intended to impose on them. A moment of hesitation followed, but Colocotronis, again becoming the spokesman, replied, "You shall give us forty millions of piastres," (L.1,000,000,) "your arms, and one half of your effects; and you shall be conducted to Calamata, and there embarked for the coast of Africa." This harsh reply filled the deputies with consternation, and they sought to have the terms mitigated; they can-

didly acknowledged that there might be that quantity of money in the town, but that it could not be immediately collected, as the greater part of the inhabitants had probably hid or buried their wealth. At all events, they said they had no power to conclude any thing, as they were only directed to hear the proposals of the Greeks. They promised to return next day with an answer, after having consulted the kiaya-bey. Hostilities were to be suspended in the meanwhile.

It was contrary to the wishes of the kiaya-bey that the Turks had resolved to treat. His tyranny and cruelty had so exasperated the Greeks against him, that he knew well, be the terms of the capitulation what they might, they would not extend to *him*. His only plan and only advice was, to drive the useless mouths out of the town, defend themselves as long as they could, perish in the ruins, or cut their way, sword in hand, to Napoli di Romania. And his was the best plan, as events showed.

Two days passed without the return of the deputies. The Turks were divided into two parties, one desiring to capitulate, the other siding with the kiaya, and anxious to continue the defence of the town. Amidst their altercations, nothing could be decided. In the meantime, Elmas-aga and his principal officers came to the quarters of Colocotronis, where the Greek chiefs assembled to confer with them. Elmas offered, for himself and his soldiers, to abandon the town on the following conditions: that they should be allowed a free passage, with their arms and property, to Epirus; and that

they might take with them the harem of Khoor-sheed-pasha.\* The Greeks neither accepted nor rejected these terms, they only replied that they would take them into consideration.

Hostilities were renewed on the second day, and in the evening, M. Raybaud threw about thirty bombs into the town. But Elmas-aga sending to say that they incommoded his soldiers, who were in that part of the town, and that he would come next day to conclude the conditions of his leaving the place, M. Raybaud changed the direction of his mortars.

It was at this time that the celebrated Booboolina arrived, with all her family, in the camp before Tripolitza. She was in the Gulf of Napoli, with one of her vessels, watching to prevent any supplies by sea reaching that place, when she heard of the approaching fall of the capital of the Morea. Her cupidity was instantly excited, and, eager to share in the spoil, she deserted her station, and hastened away to the camp,† where this modern Artemisia soon showed herself to be a match in rapacity for Colocotronis, or for any of the Maniotes.

Elmas-aga came again to the camp; the same chiefs, among whom Booboolina now sat, met to confer with him. His proposal of taking

\* This was, probably, with a view of excusing their conduct to Khoor-sheed, as having proceeded from a regard to him and his family.

† The *Diario di Roma* stated, that Booboolina appeared with her ships before Tripolitza, while the Greeks entered it by land;—a knowledge of geography nearly equal to that of the old Romans, before whom Plautus could venture to represent Thebes as a seaport town.

with him the harem of Khoorsheed-pasha meeting a most decided refusal, he gave it up; and it was settled, that three days afterwards, (Oct. 4th,) he and his Albanians should leave the town with their arms and baggage; that they should be furnished with means of joining Ali Pasha, on condition that if they could not succeed in getting to him, they should unite themselves with such of their countrymen as were in arms for him; and that, at all events, they should fight no more against the Greeks.

The stay of Elmas-aga lasted for several hours. M. Raybaud, who was present at the conference, was greatly struck with the difference between his appearance, and that of some of the savage-looking chiefs who surrounded him, whose open shaggy breasts gave to view shirts which they had vowed not to take off till Tripolitza was won. Elmas-aga was a handsome man, of polished manners; his dress was rich and elegant, his fingers were laden with diamonds and rich cameos, which powerfully attracted the attention of the Maniotes in the suite of Mavromichális. He conducted himself with the utmost coolness and imperturbability, smiling with the air of one used to command.

During the suspension of hostilities, several of the Turkish soldiers had come out to visit their old neighbours and acquaintances among the Greeks; but whether the richness of their arms excited their cupidity, or their language awakened their anger, or, as is more probable, religious and political hatred had stifled all generous feeling, most of them perished, the victims of their confidence. Undismayed by that

example, some of the guard of Elmas-aga went to refresh themselves and take some repose in the huts of the Greeks, and they also experienced the treachery of their hosts.\*

As the intentions of Elmas-aga and his Albanians were now tolerably evident, several of the heads of the principal Turkish and Jewish families in the town thought it time to provide for their security. They came secretly out of the town, and bargained with Colocotronis, Mavromichális, Booboolina, and such others as they deemed to be able to protect them. The prices they agreed to pay to these *soi-disans* patriots, were enormous. From evening till morning, beasts of burden, laden with money and valuable effects, were passing from the gates to the tents of these chiefs. The price at which escape from massacre was set may be learned from the following circumstance:—A wealthy Jew, who was banker to the vizir, and, therefore, allowed to carry arms, fixed on Colocotronis as his protector. He entered his tent with a dagger and pistols in his girdle, richly adorned with gold and precious stones. “A Jew, and armed!” cried the rapacious Greek, “that is incompatible.” He stripped him of his arms, and then began to treat with him; the price for the security of

\* There is nothing on earth which converts man into a savage animal so soon as this union of political and religious hatred. He seems all at once to divest himself of all the kindly feelings of his nature; friendship, gratitude, love, are forgotten in the violence of animosity. Every page that I write of this history, brings forcibly to my mind the evils from which the Duke of Wellington has saved his native country.



himself and family was fixed at 400,000 piastres (L.11,000.)

Booboolina, relying on her dress and sex, ventured even to go into the town to make her disgraceful bargains. The vizir's wife, trembling with apprehension, is said to have confided to her her diamonds, and to have given her rich presents, levied on the principal women of the place. Booboolina's relatives were continually engaged in receiving at the gates, and conveying to a place of safety, the treasures which she was collecting. Yatráko, the physician, was quite in despair lest his power of protecting should be rated below those of the other chiefs, and, therefore, not prove so lucrative; and the sight of his tent filled with riches hardly sufficed to console him.

The brave Nikítas, afterwards called the *Turcophágos* (*Turk-eater*) from his valour, formed a noble contrast to these rapacious chiefs. He viewed with disgust their proceedings, and his sentiments were shared by many others; but the want of a legally organized force, or a supreme controlling power, rendered their opposition of no avail. The soldiers, in general, were enraged at seeing so much of the prey thus snatched from them, and they waited with impatience for the departure of the Albanians, as the signal for assault and plunder. These, however, did not stir yet; and the day fixed for their departure was passed by them in a bloody conflict with the Turks, now aware of their treachery.



## CHAPTER XIX.

*Storming of Tripolitza—Progress of Hypsilantis—Nava.  
Engagement—Return of Hypsilantis to Tripolitza—  
Departure of Mr Gordon—Emina-agá.*

“ON Friday, the 5th October,” says M. Raybaud, “the sun rose brilliant; the heat was insupportable, the atmosphere heavy and oppressive; the monotonous chant of the cicada alone disturbed the silence of that day, which seemed to be the return of the burning dog-star.”

M. Raybaud was in his tent, conversing with an officer who had arrived the day before from France, when he heard a strange noise, followed by some discharges of cannon. One of his men came in breathless haste to tell him that the Greeks were scaling the walls, and meeting no resistance. The Turks had just brought the cannon of the citadel to bear on the part of the town which they had entered; the Greek soldiers were rushing in crowds to the ramparts. The two French officers, followed by their men, hastened to the town, and, making themselves masters of a tower, defended by four pieces of cannon, they turned them on the citadel; but the fire of the Turks soon obliged them to cease. The citadel directed the whole of its fire on the town, which was now filled with Greeks.

The scenes of horror had already commenced, the cries of the victims and their slaughterers

rose in mingled confusion ; the gunners were no longer to be restrained ; in five minutes the French officers were alone, and soon after, they also left the tower to go into the town.

For some time, the Turks had ceased to bury their dead, and the streets were filled with putrefying bodies. These were soon covered with victims of the sword ; blood ran in all directions. The Greeks, thirsting for blood and plunder, rushed like mountain torrents through the streets, massacring all whom they met. Some Turks defended their houses, and sold their lives dear ; many a Greek fell by the shots of his brethren, for the balls were crossing one another on every side. Each step that the French officers took, they saw women, girls, and children, hurled from the windows into the streets by the furious Greeks. Several of these unfortunate creatures clung to the clothes of the strangers, imploring them to save them.

The burning heat of the sun, combined with that of the surrounding conflagration, was utterly intolerable. Houses were tumbling with a loud crash on all sides ; the thunder of the artillery, the incessant firing of musketry, the yells of the victors, the shrieks of their victims, were mingled in horrific and appalling confusion. The horror was augmented by the peculiar nature of the war-cry of the Greek. He approaches his foe with a sort of guttural howl, but when he raises his weapon to strike his victim, it assumes another and a more diabolical character ; it then expresses the thirst of vengeance and of blood, the bitter irony of victory accompanied by a stern, ferocious laugh,

the growl of the *man-tiger* over his prey, which fills the soul with horror and aversion.

Colocotronis and Yatrako came now galloping into the town like men beside themselves. They rode through the streets, endeavouring to force their men to leave the town ; but their efforts were vain, their influence was gone, the blood-hounds had got the scent of their victims, and were not to be checked in their career. These chiefs may have been actuated by humanity, and by a regard to their dearly-paid-for promises of protection ; but it is more in their character to suppose, that it was the prospect of the loss of the sums of money which they had expected to extort from the unfortunate Mussulmans, which stimulated them to attempt the restoration of order. Had they shown themselves disinterested and clean-handed, the sack and massacre of Tripolitza might have been averted by a timely capitulation.

A valiant band of Turks, who had retired under the citadel, resolved to take advantage of the confusion to effect their escape. They dashed sword in hand among the victors : the most of them fell ; about forty cut their way to one of the gates, and arrived safe at Napoli di Romania.

Elmas-agá and his Albanians, to the number of 1200, had shut themselves up in the principal court of the palace of the vizir. Instead of taking advantage of the confusion to fall on the Greeks, when such conduct might have been decisive, they called for the performance of the conditions which had been agreed on. The Greeks readily allowed them to quit the place ;

and they retired, and posted themselves in that part of the camp which had been occupied by the troops of Colocotronis.

They had hardly left the palace, when fires, most probably kindled by them, broke out in all parts of it. The ladies of the harem, all richly habited and veiled, were committed by Anagnostáras to the care of a guard of Greeks. They were placed at the bottom of the garden, and a rope stretched before them to keep off the people. All the persons of wealth, who had taken refuge in the palace, hoping to be protected by the Albanians, were placed along with them. Among these was the kiaya, whose life was now spared, but not out of mercy.

The sun was past the meridian, but still the hands of the Greeks were not weary of slaughter. The young, the aged, the beautiful, the brave, were massacred without distinction. If any was made, it was in the case of the Jews, against whom the habitual rancour of the Greeks was augmented by their knowledge of the treatment the body of the patriarch Gregory had received from their brethren in the capital. A Greek might often be seen to check the dagger which he was about to plunge into the bosom of a Turk, and run to satiate his vengeance on a Jew who was come in sight. Not a single Israelite in Tripolitza escaped; the greater part perished by fire.

To add to the horrors of the scene, the droves of wild dogs, which are to be found in every Turkish town, scoured the streets, furious with hunger, and fell on and devoured those who sank beneath the blows of the victors. The

sanctity of the tombs also was violated, from the love of spoil or the rage of vengeance ; and the corpses were dragged forth, and left to infect the air.

The following day, the massacres were renewed. Anagnostopoolos published in vain an order for quarter. The fury of the Greeks was still unappeased, and even in many cases where it was subsiding, it was roused anew by the insults and the despair of the Moslems. They soon, too, began to quarrel among themselves ; those who had been disappointed in their hopes of spoil, collected in bands, and, stationing themselves at the gates, robbed those who were coming out laden. The wealthy plunderers then began to scale the walls, and at last to break passages through them ; in this way those who had gotten valuable horses got them off. If a soldier took a fancy to a house which had been already gutted, he fixed over the door a piece of cloth marked with a black cross, and if he was able to barricade the door well, or the external of the house did not appear very inviting, his right was respected. Some collected their booty into houses which seemed capable of resisting an attack, in order to defend it, but they were soon broken open or burnt.

The attitude of the Albanians appeared so alarming to M. Raybaud when he left the town in the evening, that he did not deem it safe to pass the night in the camp, and he was obliged to return to the town to sleep. Having communicated his suspicions to Mavromichális, that chief sent them orders to depart for their home. They accordingly set forth along the road to

Calavrita, attended by some light Greek troops, to see them out of the Morea.

Few, now, of those of the inhabitants who were in the town on the morning of the 5th remaining alive, the question came to be debated, of what should be done with those whom famine had previously driven without its walls. Nothing had yet been decided, when, on the evening of the 7th, a band of miscreants adopted the resolution of driving them to where, five miles distant, the Alpheus rises among deep ravines, and flinging them into them. M. Raybaud, and a Greek of Scala Nova, hearing what they were about, hastened to endeavour to save some of the victims. The young children, knowing what awaited them, filled the air with their cries; their mothers, rendered callous and indifferent by suffering, dragged them, and even beat them to force them to go on. But the savages had not patience to proceed to the selected place of destruction—at the entrance of the gorge leading to Vitina they fell on and massacred the crowd of starving women and children; and M. Raybaud arrived in time to save only one little girl.

The Turks in the citadel, having neither water nor food, were obliged to surrender on the 8th. They capitulated to Colocotronis, who promised them their lives, and nothing more. He and his relatives, and some friends, entered the fortress, and searched and disarmed the Turks, who were then led to a large house, which had belonged to Mustafa, bey of Patras, and shut up in it along with the other prisoners. Colocotronis kept possession of the citadel till he had

been able to remove and secure the immense quantity of money and other valuables which it contained.

Few more horrible massacres are to be found in history than this of Tripolitza ; but what Christian nation is there which has not its annals stained with similar atrocities ? Even England, pre-eminent as she boasts to be in humanity, has the capture of Drogheda by Cromwell and his saints, to set against it. It only furnishes one more sad instance of the evil produced by tyranny and oppression—of the savage state to which man is degraded by them.

“ O, Turkish nation !” cries M. Raybaud, to whom we are indebted for these interesting details, “ conquering and oppressive people, to what a pitch hadst thou carried the abuse of power, to what a degree of debasement hadst thou sunk the vanquished, that on the day of their awaking, they experience such a necessity of cruelty, such a thirst for thy blood ! If it is thus that the long triumphs of despotism are to be expiated, which are the most to be pitied, those who bear the yoke, or the posterity of the tyrants who imposed it ?”

It is probable that few of the Greeks who left their villages to besiege Tripolitza had not, time after time, experienced the insults and oppression of their Turkish masters and neighbours, and that the present excesses were but the explosion of those thoughts and desires of revenge which had been long smouldering in their bosoms. It is remarkable, that the feelings of contempt and hatred for the vile rayas seem to have been so deeply seated in every Turkish

bosom, that the women and children, when in the hands of the soldiers, excited their rage, by calling them Dogs of Infidels, Impure, (*Jower Skilimontatis*,) and other names which they had always been in the habit of freely bestowing on them, and died beneath their blows, repeating these words with their last breath. The Maniotes and the Ionians offered a contrast to the other Greeks: the former, who had never suffered much from the Turks, were those who most unsparingly shed their blood; the latter, who had never been under the Turkish yoke, evinced the greatest humanity, and succeeded in saving several children from slaughter.

The return of Hypsilantis was now evidently longed for by all parties. The chiefs were weary of the disobedience of their men, and the men complained that they had been defrauded by the chiefs of the just reward of their toils; the Frank officers, several of whom were now in the camp, longed to see an end put to the disorder which prevailed; even the Turkish prisoners were anxious for the appearance of a man possessed of authority, and accustomed to the usages of civilized warfare. Various rumours prevailed in the camp respecting him; some said that he was gone to Romelia, others that he had returned to Russia. At length, fourteen days after the taking of Tripolitza, young Vlasto arrived to say, that the Prince was but a day's journey distant, and would arrive at the camp the following day.

Hypsilantis, on arriving at Calavrita, the second day after his departure from Tripolitza, learned that the Turkish fleet, having sailed to



the coast of Albania, was there joined by the squadron of the capitana-bey, and, having met the Algerine division off Patras, had thrown a reinforcement of 1500 Albanians into that town, and that the Greeks, recovering from their panic, had resumed the blockade. He was farther informed that the entire fleet had entered the gulf of Lepanto; and, fearing that they might make a landing in the Morea, he hastened to the defence of Vostitza. But he was too late; the destruction of that town had been complete, and the fleet was stretching across the bay for Galaxidi. Hypsilantis moved along the coast towards the isthmus, and he had only reached the convent of St Irene, distant three or four hours from Vostitza, when he saw, on the opposite shore, the flames of the houses and shipping of Galaxidi.\* He made a delay of a week at Vasilika, the ancient Sicyon, and here he learned the capture of Tripolitza. Pano, the eldest son of Colocotronis, who had hitherto attended him with an irregular corps of 600 men, deeming, for reasons well known to himself, his presence essential to his father, abruptly quitted the Prince, who now had with him only Baleste's 250 men, and some foreign officers. He deliberated whether he should not leave the Morea altogether; he advanced to Corinth, where Constantine Petimeza, one of the bravest and best of the Greek captains, was besieging the citadel; then to the Dervend (*pass*) of the isthmus; thence back to Cenchrea,

\* The inhabitants had saved themselves in the interior, after a gallant defence.

and so again to Corinth—feeble in his resolves, and uncertain how to act. Affecting to disbelieve the accounts of the disasters in Valachia, he sent MM. Kutzoski and Voutier to Milo (*Melos*), to try and learn something certain on that subject; and he directed them to take Hydra in their way, and stimulate the ship-owners there to send a fleet to sea as speedily as possible.

The Grecian fleet, which was already prepared, put to sea on the second day after the arrival of the Prince's envoys. On the 11th October it appeared off Cape Vasilico, in the isle of Zante. Regardless of the displeasure of the British authorities, the Zanthiotes ran in crowds down to the shore, and saluted with transports of joy the banners of their religion and of liberty. The following day, some Turkish ships, having in tow a part of the vessels captured at Galaxidi, were met by the Hydraote captain, Sbaïni, off the east coast of Zante: he attacked them at once, and succeeded in driving a Turkish brig on shore, after destroying the greater part of her crew. The enemy had in the meantime attacked, with a vastly superior force, a division of the Greek fleet, which was becalmed off the coast of the Morea. Some parties of Greek troops were drawn up on the shore, spectators of the conflict. Four of the Greek ships engaged and repulsed eighteen of the Ottoman brigs; the combat lasted five hours. One of the four, being afterwards isolated, was attacked and taken by the Algerines; but her crew escaped to the shore.

On the 15th, the Greek fleet was out of sight;

and the capitan-pasha hastened to quit the neighbourhood of Zante.

The reception which Hypsilantis met with on his return to the camp at Tripolitza, was such as ought to have convinced him of the folly of his conduct in leaving it at the critical time he did. Chiefs and soldiers advanced with eagerness to meet him, and rent the air with their acclamations. By taking advantage of the general enthusiasm, he might possibly have succeeded in making the chiefs disgorge some of their ill-got gains; but he wanted strength of character, and he let slip the favourable moment.

Some appearances of regularity now began to present themselves: a mosque, which had been formerly a church, was converted to its former use; the bazars were supplied; the soldiers gradually returned to their standards. Hypsilantis seemed disposed to make Tripolitza the seat of the general assembly, which was to be convoked to fix on some plan of government. Many, however, gave the preference to Argos for that purpose, as being near Napoli and Corinth, and more convenient for the islanders. Hypsilantis meantime directed his attention to the organization of the troops; but here he met with almost insuperable difficulties. The life of the brigand was far more agreeable than that of the regular soldier, in the eyes of those whom he sought to reduce under discipline; to massacre and plunder, and then retire home to secure their booty, was the kind of service in which they found most delight. Colocotronis and his fellows affected to despise the soldiers

of Baleste's little corps. Those who had deserted from it, and shared in the sack of the town, were covered with rich shawls and pelisses, and displayed magnificent arms, while their companions who had been true to their oaths, were arrayed in miserable rags—a contrast which spoke audibly against discipline and subordination. Hypsilantis, however, persevered: he selected the officers of his staff, at the head of which he placed, to the general satisfaction, Mr Gordon.

But this gentleman, disgusted with what he saw of the base selfishness of the chiefs, the ferocity of the people, and the feebleness of the character of the Prince, had resolved to depart from Greece. The only request which he made, as a return for his services and his gifts, was permission to take with him a respectable old Turk and his little daughter, whom he had taken under his protection. Even this moderate demand, though willingly assented to by the Prince, was opposed by the heartless Colocotronis and some others, under pretexts of prudence. At his departure, Mr Gordon confided the old man and his child to the care of M. Raybaud.

The story of this unhappy Mussulman is too remarkable to be passed over in silence. His name was Emina-agá; he was one of the wealthiest Turks of the peninsula; he had a numerous family, a sumptuous dwelling; neither famine nor disease had been known in his house up to the day on which Tripolitza fell. The close of that day saw him reduced to the depths of misery: his habitation was plundered, his

children and relatives massacred, one only child remained to him—his youngest daughter, four years of age, escaped from death almost by miracle. His own life was spared by the humanity of Anagnostaras, who had taken possession of his house ; and he dragged on a miserable existence in the kitchens and stables where he had once commanded. Evermore exposed to the cruel sarcasms and irony of the soldiers, who robbed him successively of every article of his dress, he still submitted with resignation. Allah kerim ! (*God is great !*) alone passed his lips. His house became the residence of Hypsilantis when he arrived at Tripolitza, and the humanity of Mr Gordon was exerted to soothe and protect Emina-agá. The idea of accompanying his benefactor to England, was grateful to him ; when his hopes were crushed, his spirits quite sunk. M. Raybaud, being shortly afterwards to set out for Thessaly, wished to take Emina's daughter, and place her in security at some place in the isles ; but the old man could not endure the idea of separation, and M. Raybaud, unable to take them both with him, placed them in the family of Sheikh Nejib-effendi, their relative, who expected soon to be ransomed.

The unhappy Turks who remained in the hands of the Greeks were subjected to all kinds of indignities, and their fate was such, that that of those who had fallen on the day of the storm was enviable in comparison. Each time that the Greeks heard of any instance of cruelty exercised on their brethren, or of any success gained by the infidels, their rage of vengeance

was kindled anew, and discharged on their unhappy prisoners. The vile race of the Maniotes, the pseudo Eleuthero-Lacones, were conspicuous in cruelty; but those Greeks who had travelled, or been educated in civilized Europe, viewed the atrocities of their countrymen with horror, and saved many a victim from them. Even the poor peasants of the Morea,\* oppressed and ill-treated as they had been by the Turks, retained some humanity; and several Turkish females were saved and concealed by them, and let out of the town during the night to seek some safer asylum.

## CHAPTER XX.

*Adventures of Melidonos the Cretan—His Death—Aferdoolieff sent to Crete—Deputies arrive from Mount Olympus—Proceedings of Mavrocordatos in Western Greece—Sortie of the garrison of Patras—Condition of Ali Pasha—Attack of Arta by the Sooliotes—Affairs at Napoli—Attempt to take that town by escalade—Meheemet Abd-ul-Abood made pasha of Salonica—Reduces Cassandra and Mount Athos.*

WHILE the chiefs were still at Tripolitza, Anthony Melidonos† arrived from Crete to in-

\* They are called Valacks, i. e. Valachians. As this people had penetrated into northern Greece, where they lead the shepherd's life, going with their flocks to the mountains in summer, and seeking the plains in winter, the name was extended to those who led the same kind of life in the Morea, though not of the Valachian race.

† M. Soutzo, from whom we have taken these de-

form them of the affairs of that island, and to ask them for aid. As Napoli and the citadel of Corinth were still to be conquered, the aid was refused. Melidonos departed in chagrin. Returning home, he put himself at the head of a body of 700 men, and formed the daring project of traversing the island from one end to the other, attacking the Turks wherever he should meet them. He first attacked the Turkish village of Monea ; having conquered it, he advanced and laid siege to the post of Armyros, which he took and dismantled, removing twelve pieces of cannon from it to Sphakia. When he entered the district of Rhethemna, the Turks who dwelt in it all fled before him, and took refuge in a delicious valley near Bryssina, closed in by steep rocks, from which tumbled a waterfall. Melidonos, having seized the only entrance to the valley, fell on and made a great slaughter of those who were in it.

Some days afterwards, he met Glamides, the terror of the Christians of Candia, mounted on a superbly caparisoned white mule, and surrounded by his guards. The Sphakiote rushed on him, dragged him to the ground, and slew him. Learning then that another ferocious Turk, named Getimalis, was, with a few soldiers, at the wealthy convent of Arcadion, he proceeded thither. Arriving at midnight, he ascended the roof, laid inflammable materials on it, and set fire to them ; then rushing to the

tails, says that he had extracted them from various memoirs, with which he was furnished by a brother of Melidonos, and by some of his comrades in arms.

cell where Getimalis was sitting drinking, he burst open the door, seized him, and cast him to the earth, and was about to slay him, when he cried out that he would become a Christian. The ceremony of baptism was immediately performed, and the terrified convert was allowed to live.

Quitting Rethemna, he entered the district of Amari. At a place called Yanacari, the Musulmans attacked him, and were defeated; another body of them experienced a similar fate at the village of Merona, and a third had little better success at Thronoclissidi.

The next exploit of the Cretan hero we shall relate in the words of our author. They are so pretty and sentimental, that they almost make us doubt the accuracy of the narrator.

“A crowd of Turkish old men, young maidens, and children, had sought refuge in the delicious valley of Gena. He made his way into it at the close of day; the whispering of the evening breeze, and the song of the cicada, invited to sleep; several young virgins, reared amidst perfumes, and who never had gone out but attended by a troop of slaves, now without veils, without attendants, their feet bare and torn by the thorns, were reposing beneath the shade of orange and almond-trees; several children were sleeping at the feet of the old men, who were also buried in slumber—some arms were hanging from the boughs of the trees. Melidonos, at the sight of these innocents, stops, and says to his brother Elias, ‘Let us retire, and not disturb their repose.’ His voice wakes a young girl, she utters loud cries,



her companions jump up on their feet ; Melidonos soothes their uneasiness, watches over their safety, their honour, and accompanies them to the walls of Megalocastron, giving them the following letter for the agá of that fortress :—

“ ‘ I have acted as a son to your old men, as a father to your children, as a brother to your females ; do you act in the same manner towards your Greek prisoners ? Our revolution has for its object the emancipation of an oppressed people, and not the extinction of the race of the Osmanlis. If you wish to live free and equal with us, renounce your obedience to the Sultan, and I am ready to make peace.’ ”

The only reply made by the Turk was to sally forth at the head of a body of troops, and make an attempt to surround Melidonos at Foorfoora. The Cretan hero, though taken by surprise, drew up his little army and commenced the attack. The action was warm, and lasted upwards of two hours. The Turks at length were broken, and driven in confusion to Megalocastron. The very next day, taking advantage of a storm of hail and thunder, Melidonos fell on a detachment commanded by the same officer. Confounded by the wind and hail, the Turks were unable to act, and they let themselves be massacred without resistance.

Three days afterwards, he posted himself on the road which the pasha was to take. As soon as he saw him entering the plain, he made his men lie on the ground, concealed among the briers, till the Ottomans came up. He then gave the word to rise, and the enemy, taken by surprise, fled without making any resistance.

The pasha, charmed with the valour of Melidonos, sent an old woman to him, to beg that he would stand on the hill opposite to his camp, that he might take a view of him with his telescope. Melidonos wrote in reply, "In a few days thou shalt be a prisoner in my tent, and there have leisure to view me closely."

The fame of Melidonos spread far and wide through Candia: wherever he came, the people crowded to gaze at him, and his entrance into any town was celebrated with all the demonstrations of respect and joy usual in the country. The envy of Rhoossos, the Sphakiote chief, was inflamed, and he resolved to destroy the brave Melidonos. He came, therefore, to him at Foorfoora, with the intelligence that the pasha was to sleep that night at a village named Abadia, two leagues distant. He advised him not to let the occasion slip, but to fall on him during the night. The secret hope of Rhoossos was, that Melidonos would be the victim of his spirit of enterprise; and the latter, unsuspecting of deceit, eagerly caught at the opportunity of distinguishing himself which was presented. He gave Turkish dresses and standards to 300 of his men, and at night entered Abadia. He went straight to the house of an old Turkish woman where the pasha was to sleep. He knocked, and asked in Turkish if the pasha was yet arrived. "Who are you?" said a voice from a window. "Turks from Foorfoora."—"The pasha is not yet come; there are only two bim-bachees (*colonels*) in our village."—"Where are they?"—"In yonder white houses by the old poplars." Melidonos went in search

of them, killed them and 400 of their men, and returned to Foorfoora with thirty load of biscuit and twelve barrels of gunpowder.

Disappointed in his hopes, Rhoossos resolved to assassinate him that very night. He sent to congratulate him on his success, and to invite him to supper. Melidonos, who was quite fatigued, at first excused himself, but at length, overcome by importunity, he went, accompanied by Captain Koormoolakis and a few of his soldiers. They were scarcely seated at table, when Rhoossos began to provoke Melidonos by taxing him with ambition, and with secretly undermining him in the minds of their fellow-citizens, and concluded by avowing the mortal hatred he bore him. Melidonos was retiring in indignation; Rhoossos drew a pistol from his girdle, and levelled it at him; it was wrested from him by Koormoolakis; a crowd of Sphakiotes rushed in; Melidonos addressed them in energetic terms, vindicating the disinterestedness of his conduct, displaying the true character of Rhoossos, and declaring his resolution to retire from the command which he held.\* He ordered them to fetch him a horse; he mounted, and set out for Rhethemna, followed by a crowd of Sphakiotes, who swore to live and die with him. As he passed through the town of Opsygia, the people came to implore him to stop, and not to put himself in the hands of the Turks, as they thought he intended to do.

Melidonos was overtaken at Opsygia by

\* The turgid speech which M. Soutzo puts into the mouth of Melidonos is almost ludicrous.

Anagnostos, the brother-in-law of Rhoossos, who came to say that the latter repented of what he had done, and ardently desired a reconciliation. He suffered himself to be persuaded, returned with him, and even went alone to visit Rhoossos. But the traitor stood concealed behind his own door, and as his unsuspecting victim entered the house, he clove his head with a sabre. Melidonos fell; his soldiers, coming up, found him weltering in his blood; they would have pursued Rhoossos, who had fled, but the expiring hero forbade them. His brother Kharalamba, and some of his officers, on their arrival, found him dead. At sunset, he was interred at Ministraki. The Greeks immediately afterwards left the neighbourhood, and the Turks of Foorfoora came and disinterred his body in order to gaze on it, and they tore up his shroud, and parted it among them to wear by way of amulet.\*

If the chiefs at Tripolitza rejected the application of Melidonos, they afterwards considered better of the matter; and Michael Comnenus Afendoolieff, a companion of Hypsilantis, was sent to Candia with a fleet of twenty sail and 1800 men. But the incapacity of this man was such, that his presence was an impediment rather than a benefit to the cause which he came to support.

\* This romantic tale of Melidonos is to be found only in the work of M. Soutzo, on whose veracity its truth rests. I have endeavoured to divest it of some of its romance, and to bring it within the limits of sober history. I must, however, confess, that I entertain some suspicions even of the details which I have retained.

Hypsilantis, after a stay of some weeks in Tripolitza, determined to set out for Argos, to open the general congress there. He appointed M. George Sakeri, a native of Tripolitza, to be the governor of that town; but Colocotronis, whose insolence and selfishness were always conspicuous, asserted, that as he had commanded the largest body of troops during the siege, the right of appointing a governor lay with him, and he insisted on that office being given to one of his sons. It was in vain to reason with him, and the feeble Prince was obliged to yield, and to limit the functions of M. Sakeri to those of civil governor, or rather of a mere judge.

The Turkish prisoners, especially the females, viewed with dismay the departure of the Prince and the Franks, whom they looked upon as their only protection against the brutality of the Greeks. The ladies of Khoorsheed's harem several times expressed their anxiety to see the Prince; but, aware of his own want of power, he constantly refused to visit them, not wishing to witness misfortune which he could not alleviate.\*

Some time previously, deputies had arrived from Mount Olympus, asking for a leader, cannon, and some foreign officers, to assist and direct them. They stated the number of fighting men whom they could furnish at 14,000. As these

\* M. Raybaud thinks, that if the Prince had visited them, their request would probably have been for the restitution of some of their fine clothes and jewels; the loss of which the Turkish women regarded as one of the greatest afflictions, even amidst the real losses which they had suffered, in being deprived of their fathers, brothers, and husbands.

were known to be the bravest of the Greeks, and as, at the same time, a most important diversion might thus be made, and the communication be cut off between Macedonia and Thessaly, Hypsilantis resolved to comply at once with their desires. But, always unfortunate in his choice of instruments, he fixed on the Khiliarkh (*colonel*) Sala, who had been in the service of Russia, to go to head the warriors of Ossa and Olympus. At the request of the deputies, the small park of artillery which was to be sent, was placed under the direction of M. Raybaud.

The cannon was dismounted, and M. Raybaud was to have carriages constructed in the Cyclades. He therefore applied to Panos Colocotronis, the new governor of Tripolitza, for waggons, horses, and mules, to transport it to the place of embarkation. The draught cattle furnished were fifty of the Turkish prisoners, and an equal number of Valachs (*Moreote* peasants), if those should not prove sufficient; and the governor confidently assured M. Raybaud, that he need be under no apprehension of overworking his *horses*. On the 17th November, M. Raybaud left Tripolitza; these unfortunate Turks, among whom was one Ibrahim-agá, had previously set out, yoked to heavy waggons, and escorted by twelve gunners, whom M. Raybaud had strictly charged to be attentive to them.

The following day, M. Raybaud overtook the convoy, but the Turks had grown restive, and could only be impelled to move by blows, for that day would bring them to Lerna, where they were convinced they should be massacred. They testified an extreme joy at the sight of him; and

on his assurance of protecting them, they moved on readily. It was, however, with difficulty that he was able to defend them from the rage of the sailors of that place, and only by promising to give them up to their vengeance when they should have brought up two pieces of cannon, which had been left on the road. By making them afterwards go on to Argos, he contrived to save the wretched Turks, whose only desire now was, to be taken for slaves by the foreign officers, who, they saw, would treat them with humanity. Several of the officers took some of them; the rest were sent back, with a good escort, to Tripolitza. It is but justice to the Greeks of Lerna to add, that most of these prisoners were Asiatic Turks, who had been the instruments of the *kiaya* in devastating the country and massacring the people.

While Hypsilantis, the dupe of the selfish captains and primates, was daily sinking into insignificance, the more talented and energetic Mavrocordátos was engaged in giving organization and regularity to affairs in Western Greece. He went through all parts of Ætolia, Acarnania, Doris, Phocis, Bœotia, Amphiloehia, studying the manners of the people, and the characters of their chiefs; making himself acquainted with their wants, and seeking to impress on the minds of all, the necessity of union and of civil organization, if ever they hoped to succeed in emancipating themselves from Turkish tyranny. He communicated with the Sooliotes; and he endeavoured to strengthen the alliance which subsisted between the Greeks and the Mohammedan Sheeptars, who adhered to Ali Pasha. He

engaged Tahir Abas, Alexander Nootzas, and other partisans of the old tyrant, to repair to Mesolonghi, whither deputies from the provinces of Western Greece had arrived, to deliberate on a plan for the organization of that country. But the Albanians were shocked with the tone of equality assumed by the Greeks,—the sort of liberty of which they spoke was new to their ears; they had imagined that it was partisans of Ali whom they were to meet, and they could not conceal the annoyance it gave them. The attentions, and, still more, the presents, of Mavrocordátos, however, soothed them; they agreed to a continuance of the alliance, required ammunition and provisions, and promised to repair to the combined camp at Peta. As soon as they were gone, the Senate of Western Greece was installed at Mesolonghi, under the presidency of Mavrocordátos, who was shortly afterwards deputed to attend the congress of Argos as their representative. Eastern Greece had also been organized, and a senate formed at Sálona, by the exertions of Theodore Negris,\* a man of whom we shall in the sequel have frequent occasion to speak. Negris had been made president of the Arcopagus, as this senate styled itself; and he

\* He had been secretary of the hospodar of Moldavia. The Porte had fixed on him to be the chargé d'affaires at Paris, whither he was proceeding by sea; but he directed his course to Spetzia, and joined the insurgents. The Spetziotes were at first very suspicious of him. By acting as he did, he compromised his family, which remained at Constantinople, and some of its members were, it is said, put to death.



and some of the members were also setting out for Argos.

Mavrocordátos, on his way to Argos, stopped at Patras, where the Greeks had once more blocked up the Turks in the citadel. As the enemy had remained for some weeks quiet, the besiegers became careless and negligent, and the garrison, taking advantage of their want of precaution, ventured to make a sally. A panic terror seized the Greeks, in spite of the efforts of Mavrocordátos and others; they fled, though the assailants were few in number; and the ground, being encumbered with ruins, adverse to cavalry, Mavrocordátos narrowly escaped being made prisoner; all his papers and effects were lost. Among the former was a manuscript history of the Turkish dominion in Europe, which had cost him much time and labour, and of which the loss caused him a considerable degree of regret.

It is now time that we should return to Ali Pasha of Jannina, whose career was fast drawing to its close. About the end of October, the garrison of the castle of Litharitzza, composed of Guegues, being ill paid, and tired with the length of the siege, and at the same time reflecting that they had now served several months beyond the period for which they had engaged, yielded to the money and the promises of Khoor-sheed, and putting the castle into his hands, ranged themselves under his standard. Ali had now but 600 men remaining, and it was to be feared that the fidelity of these might not remain proof against the seductions of Khoorsheed, and the dangers to which they were exposed. They might easily obtain pardon and reward by

putting the old vizir into the hands of his enemy; the diversion made by Ali would then be at an end; Khoorsheed, master of the treasures of the old satrap, and freed from embarrassment, might be able to turn his entire strength against the Greeks. It was, therefore, evidently the interest of these last to succour Ali Pasha.

The combined forces of the Greeks and Albanians were, at this time, blockading Arta. It was resolved, in a council of war, that the Acarnanian troops alone should remain before that town, and the Albanians and Sooliotes, without a moment's delay, proceed to Jannina, and endeavour to throw a reinforcement into the Castle of the Lake, before Khoorsheed had completed the lines of circumvallation with which he was shutting it in on the land side. Information of what was proposed was sent to Ali. But, what with dislike of the Greeks—whose instrument he found himself to be, instead of their being his—what with his avarice, which increased every day, he declined the proffered aid. He showed the letter to his captains, saying, that he relied so entirely on their valour, that he had no need of any other aid; and when some of them begged him to admit 200 or 300 palicares, “No,” said he, “old serpents are always old serpents. I fear the Sooliotes and their friendship.” To the Sooliotes he wrote, thanking them for their regard for him; but assuring them that he required no aid, as he could still hold out for years. He requested them to press vigorously the siege of Arta, and, if possible, to take Ismaël Pashôbey, the cause of all the troubles, alive, which, he said, would be cutting the evil at the root.

He concluded, as usual, by assuring them that his treasures should be the reward of their brave palicares.

The Sooliotes, though dissatisfied with Ali, resolved to follow his advice, and direct their efforts against Arta. But that town was defended by 5000 horsemen, and a good park of artillery; and it became a matter of serious deliberation, whether they should adventure to attack such a force. The council were of opinion to put off the enterprise till they should have gotten cannon. Mark Botzaris alone was of a different way of thinking, and he resolved to make a bold attempt to carry the town. Having made Karaïskaki,\* the chief of the Acarnanians, enter into his views, and prevailed on his companions in arms to promise to come to his aid, he set out, with 200 palicares, from Koomkhadez, on the 24th November. Arrived at the village of Marat, within view of Arta, on the right bank of the Inachus, by the road leading to that city, he posted his men among the trees and shrubs of various kinds, which are there in great abundance. The Turks, either aware of, or suspecting, his project, crossed the bridge of the Inachus to the number of 800 horsemen, preceded by four field-pieces. A smart action commenced: the Sooliotes were at length forced to take refuge in the houses of the village; the enemy began cannonading them; their destruction seemed almost certain, when Nothis Botzaris appeared on the road, at the head of 300 men. He

\* So this name is generally written. M. Pouqueville writes it Kara Hyscos. I have not met it anywhere in Greek characters.

fell on the Turks; at the same time, Mark Botzaris and his men rushed out of the houses. The Turks were driven back and pursued to the bridge, and one of their field-pieces was taken. As the bridge was strongly fortified, no attempt was made to force it. The victorious warriors slept that night on the field of battle. The noise of the cannon had called numbers to their aid. The bridge was attacked next morning, and carried; and the victors established themselves in the suburb called Mihoorti. The following day, Hassan vizir, Ismaël Pashô-bey, and the other Turkish officers, endeavoured to dislodge the Sooliotes from their position; but Mark Botzaris, by manœuvring along the side of the hills of the Virgin, prevented their making any use of their cavalry, and obliged them to give over their attempt. The Turks then took up a position opposite to that of the Sooliotes; and as these last had placed in their front the artillery taken at the bridge, both parties wasted their powder to little advantage by a constant but ill-directed cannonade.

A general engagement was every moment expected; and the Christians joyfully received an accession of 2000 Albanians under Tahir Abas, Hago Bessiaris, and Elmas-agá, (lately come from the Morea), who, regarding them as the allies of Ali Pasha, came to aid them against the troops of the Sultan. On the 28th, a general attack was made, and the assailants made themselves masters of two-thirds of the town. To prevent his soldiers scattering themselves to plunder, Mark Botzaris set fire to the houses. This measure saved the Turks, for the conflagration

raging with great fury, the enemy could not get near them; and they had time to fortify themselves in different parts of the town. The Greeks and their allies, unused to sieges, were obliged to be content with blockading them.

Khoorsheed, who had now been joined by Omer Briones from Athens, resolved to make every attempt for the relief of Arta. It was arranged, that three divisions, each of 2000 men, should march thither by three different roads, in order to distract the attention of the enemy. It was, at the same time, resolved to endeavour to induce the Khamides of Thesprotia to declare themselves for the cause of the Sultan.

The beys of the Khamides were at that time sitting in consultation at Paramythia, deliberating on what was their best course to pursue. The sheikhs, sent as envoys to them by the ser-asker, on being admitted into their assembly, pictured to them, in strong terms, the folly of adhering to the cause of the ungrateful tyrant, Ali Pasha, and then the madness of making common cause with the Greeks, who were the sworn foes of all the Faithful alike; and who, if victorious, would never rest till they had exterminated them all. These, and other considerations, had their full weight. The Khamides swore not only to obey the ser-asker, but to engage their brethren to renounce their alliance with the infidels. They sent accordingly a dervish to Tahir Abas and Hago Bessiaris, and these chiefs promised to desert their allies at the most critical moment, insisting, however, on the deposition of Ismaël Pashô, their personal enemy.

To deceive the Sooliotes, the Albanian chiefs informed them of the approach of the troops of Khoorsheed, and proposed that they should lead their Sheeptars, and place them in ambush at the mouth of the defiles. This proposal was extremely agreeable to Mark Botzaris, as some ill feeling had begun to manifest itself between the Albanians and the Acarnanians. The former accordingly departed, and soon after the Sooliotes succeeded in making themselves masters of the quarter occupied by the vizir Hassan. Next morning, (December 7th,) at daybreak, the troops of Khoorsheed were seen on the right bank of the river. They soon were masters of the bridge; and it was vain to hope to resist them with success. Mark Botzaris, however, determined to keep them occupied with the 1100 men whom he had with him, till Karaïskaki should have had time to get the sick and wounded over the river, in boats, at a convenient place. As soon as he was sure that the Acarnanians were safe over, and that the wounded were out of danger, he nailed up the cannon, which he was forced to leave; then retiring some distance from the bridge, ordered his men to force into the river a drove of buffaloes, which he had collected for that purpose, and then follow them. The buffaloes rushed into the stream; partly swimming, partly holding by the beasts, the Sooliotes crossed the river, and landed near the village of Marat. Still driving before them the buffaloes, made furious by their wounds and the noise of the fire-arms, they rushed, sword in hand, on the Turks, and forced their way through them. “ *Let every one*

*shift for himself, and to Loroox !*" shouted Mark Botzaris, and the Sooliotes instantly dispersed.

The Turks entered Arta, now nearly a heap of ruins. To gratify the Albanians, Ismaël Pashô was deposed, and cast into prison.\* They still, however, kept aloof; and though they had abandoned the Greeks, they cherished hopes of saving their old master, to whom alone they were attached.

Soon after the arrival of Hypsilantis at Argos, there arrived (November 20) at that place about thirty foreign officers, who had landed at Calamáta. They were French, Italians, and Germans; among them was the Sicilian colonel, Staroba; M. de Qualen, a Danish cavalry officer; MM. Graillard, Chauvassaigne, &c. &c.

The Greeks had long had a corps of observation, commanded by the captain Georges, brother of Nikitas, before Napoli di Romania, and a small squadron cruizing off it, to prevent its receiving any supplies by sea. This town is built between the sea and a steep rock, on which is the fortress called Palamídi; on another rock, about 200 paces out in the sea, is a castle, named Boorghí, which commands every part of the town. The whole was strongly fortified, and defended by nearly 400 pieces of cannon, eighty of which were of the calibre of sixty-four pounds and upwards. It is one of the strongest places in the Ottoman empire; and the only hopes of the Greeks to reduce it lay in famine, which was already beginning to be felt by the garrison,

\* He was some time afterwards put to death, by order of the Sultan.



now greatly discouraged by the news of the fall of Tripolitza.

But while they were thus anticipating a speedy possession of this important place, their hopes were cruelly disappointed by the thirst after gain of a foreign house at Constantinople, which sent thither a Maltese vessel, laden with corn. She had succeeded in getting into it, either through the negligence of the blockading squadron, or, as others say, because the captains of it had abandoned their post, as they were not furnished with money to pay their sailors. She had been already twenty days lying safe under the cannon of the town, when the Greek army came to Argos. Some days afterwards it was resolved to cut her out, as if it was likely that she should have been lying there a whole month without having discharged her cargo. Some boats, with some of the foreign officers, and about fifty Greek sailors in them, left the Mills in the night, and rowed in silence towards her; the Spetziote captain of the boat which was ahead, seeing the fire of the pipe of a sailor, thought it was a gunner's match. He instantly put his boat about with so much noise, that the others were obliged to follow his example, and in spite of the threats and entreaties of the foreign officers, he made off as fast as he could. Next day the Maltese put to sea, but was immediately taken by the Greek cruizers. The captain was brought before Hypsilantis, and examined. As the continental powers had not yet acknowledged the Greek blockades, the Greeks, though justly incensed at seeing their hopes frustrated by the avarice of an in-



dividual, contented themselves with detaining him; and shortly afterwards, on his being claimed by the captain of an English frigate as a British subject, they set him at liberty.

Frequent, though not very sanguinary affairs, took place before Napoli. On the 26th November, the thunders of the batteries of Palamídi were heard at Argos. The Turks, it appears, being in want of forage, had, the night before, sent out a number of women and children, under the protection of about 100 Delhis, to cut grass in a place about half a cannon-shot from the walls. Just before daybreak the Greeks perceived them,—stole down, and fell on them with loud shouts,—the foragers, cut off from the town, ran into the sea, where some of them were drowned, and others shot. The besiegers sent succour to their foragers, and thundered away from their batteries, though it was impossible for them to hit the Greeks, without at the same time endangering the lives of their own people; the combat lasted till two o'clock in the day, when both parties retired; the Greeks carried off thirty heads; the Turks brought home almost all the women and children whom they had exposed in so cowardly a manner.

A Genoese, named Dania, who had been twenty-five years in the service of France, in which he had attained the rank of a superior officer, and Justin de Rouën, a French captain, proposed to Hypsilantis the daring project of taking Napoli by escalade. The foreigners in general, and all the men of sense, were of opinion that, with such troops as the Greeks, the thing was utterly impracticable; but Dania

succeeded in persuading the Prince that the difficulty was by no means insuperable. Orders were sent to Hydra and Spetzia to make ladders, and to get ready forty boats with guns in them, to co-operate in the attack, which was fixed for the 16th December.

At two in the morning of the 16th, the Greeks left their camp, and got under the walls of the town, without being perceived by the garrison. The ladders were set, and the troops were waiting for the signal, when one of the soldiers of Colocotronis having, no one knew why, fired off his piece, the Turks took alarm, and hastening to all the points which were menaced, poured a tremendous fire on the assailants, which was, however, rendered innocuous by the darkness of the night. As the enterprise had failed, the Greek troops should have retired at once; but the companies of Baleste, the greater part of the foreign officers, and some gunners, having received no orders, remained at their post till daybreak; they had then to retire along a causeway, which was swept by a battery of seven or eight guns, and the musketry from the ramparts; but, though the Turks kept up a tremendous fire, thanks to their awkwardness, very few were killed.

During the month of November, the Greeks were unfortunate on the northern shores of the *Ægean*. The selictar of the capitan-pasha landed in the isle of Samothrace, and slaughtered the principal inhabitants, carrying away the women and children for slaves. Mehemet Abd-ul-Abood was nominated to the pashalik of Salo-

nica ; and he immediately commenced operations against the Cassandriotes.

Mehemet Abd-ul-Abood was a Georgian by birth. In his eighteenth year he was brought to Constantinople, and sold as a slave. Having renounced the faith in which he was born, he was some time afterwards in the service of Jezzar, the sanguinary pasha of Acre. He here greatly distinguished himself by his courage ; and when on one occasion the old tyrant, suspecting him and some others of an intimacy with the females of his harem, menaced them with death, Mehemet and one Suleiman took shelter in the powder-magazine, which was in the palace, and threatened to set fire to it, if they were not allowed to go free. Jezzar could not resist such an argument as this, and he allowed them to depart. After rambling about for some months, they returned to his service. Jezzar, dying, was succeeded by Suleiman ; and Abd-ul-Abood was made Moosselim, or governor, of Jaffa, where his cruelty equalled, or exceeded, that of his old master. Driven from his government, on account of his extortions, he sought refuge with Mehemet Ali, the viceroy of Egypt ; and being furnished with letters of recommendation from that viceroy to Nejib-effendi, his Capi-choadar (*agent*) at Constantinople, he, through his support and his own exertions, so gained the favour of the Porte, that he was nominated pasha of three tails of Salonica, into which town he made his entrance on the 20th October.

The new pasha lost no time in entering on hostilities. On the 14th November he appeared

before the intrenchment of the Greeks, and invited them to lay down their arms, promising them pardon and amnesty. Aware of the significance of these words in the mouth of a Turk, the Greeks refused to listen to his proposals. At midnight, on the 12th, Abd-ul-Abood drew up his forces, and made a furious attack on the Greek line of defence. Having succeeded in filling part of the trench with fascines, his cavalry poured into the peninsula; the Greeks, unable to offer any farther resistance, fled; great numbers of them were slain on the following days, some bravely defending their lives, others offering no resistance. The vizir had given orders to his troops to spare the unarmed; but strict obedience was not, in this instance, yielded to his commands. He treated with great lenity the prisoners who were brought to him, paid their ransom himself to his soldiers, and set them at liberty. Such unusual clemency had a great effect on the Greeks; several of those who had made their escape out of the peninsula, returned; and Abd-ul-Abood, having collected the people of various villages of Macedonia, settled them once more in their native homes.

After the reduction of Cassandra, the vizir hesitated whether he should direct his force against the insurgents of Olympus, or the monks of Mount Athos, who had taken arms, and begun to prepare for their defence. The fear of the monks securing their treasures in the islands, if they should be given time, determined him, and he directed his march for their peninsula. Having approached the isthmus, he sent to demand their arms, hostages, and a large sum

of money. He moreover insisted on having a garrison there, under pretext of protecting them.

The cowardly monks, though they were 5000 in number, dwelling in strong fortified monasteries, well supplied with artillery, and abundantly stocked with provisions, submitted to these unreasonable demands. The contribution was fixed at 3000 purses, or 1,500,000 piastres. The hostages were delivered, and Abd-ul-Abood occupied the peninsula with his forces. Not content with the enormous sum which he had received, he stripped the churches of their plate. Finding there a number of the country clergy who had sought refuge with the monks, he pretended that they were not included in the capitulation, and he seized and hanged them. He thus, in a short space of time, completely put down the insurrection in Macedonia.\*

\* Pouqueville.

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